The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

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Vigilance and National Unity
An Editorial

Will Science Commit Suicide?
By Baker Brownell

For Every Reason: Feed Europe!
By Devere Allen

The Press and the Election
By Oswald Garrison Villard

Another Message from England
An Editorial

15 Cents a Copy • November 20, 1940 • Four Dollars a Year

The Christian Century Announces An Important Series of Articles on

IF AMERICA ENTERS the WAR- WHAT SHALL I DO?

Answered by 10 Great Christian Leaders

THE major activity of our country is preparation for war. "National Defense" fills the newspapers, the speeches of politicians. It is reflected in the quips of the theater, the wave-lengths of the radio, the gyrations of the stock market, the talk of the women's clubs, the wisecracks of conscripted youth.

If war comes, what shall I do? Every one of us must give his own answer to that question. In the belief that a series of articles on this important question would be rendering an invaluable service to readers of The Christian Century, the editor recently sent the following letter to ten great Christian leaders, five of whom are pacifists and five non-pacifists:

My Dear Sir:

The cumulative steps taken by our government during the past year, culminating in the adoption of conscription, have brought the nation to the point where America's participation as a belligerent in the war is an imminent possibility. Every citizen, therefore, is confronted with the question of his own participation—either as a member of the fighting forces or as a contributor of his strength and influence in non-combatant but requisite service.

Up to now, this has been more or less of an academic or abstract question for American Christians. It is no longer so. Even though we are not formally at war, and without conceding that overt war is inevitable, large numbers of citizens are wrestling with the issue in their consciences.

As an aid to their decision, The Christian Century desires to present in its pages the testimony of ten recognized Christian leaders who have come to grips with this issue and have decided for themselves what their course will be. We are asking five pacifists and five non-pacifists to state their position in answer to this question: *If America is drawn into war, can you, as a Christian, participate in it or support it?* Will you take part in this symposium?

It is my belief and that of my colleagues in The Christian Century that this series will be the greatest service which you and we can render the disquieted consciences of a multitude of the finest spirits in all our churches. They are looking for light and guidance from men whose spiritual and patriotic integrity and wisdom they hold in peculiar honor. Your personal testimony as to the decision which you have reached, and the

reasons for it, will profoundly help them in charting their own course.

I sincerely hope you will respond favorably to this invitation. It is, I well know, a grave responsibility, in so crucial a moment, to state frankly one's decision. But the time may soon be past when you or any of us can speak without constraint. Every man, including yourself and myself, as well as those who read our words, now faces the imminent issue, and it is better to have the fullest expression possible while there is yet time to give calm consideration to it.

With personal greetings and sincere appreciation of your cooperation, I am

Very truly yours,

Charles Clayton Morrison

This Great Series of Articles will begin in the issue of

DECEMBER 4

and will run well into 1941

Ten men to whom the above letter was addressed accepted Dr. Morrison's invitation to contribute each an article to this series. Simply to name the contributors is enough to challenge the interest of every reader of The Christian Century:

John C.
BENNETT

Reinhold
NIEBUHR

Albert Edward
DAY

Albert W.
PALMER

Harry Emerson
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TAFT

John Haynes
HOLMES

Ernest Fremont
TITTLE

Francis J.
McCONNELL

Henry Pitney
VAN DUSEN

These acknowledged leaders of American Christian thought will honestly face from varying points of view this vital question. They will share their deepest convictions with all who wrestle with this issue which profoundly disturbs the Christian conscience.

EVERY thinking American citizen would profit by the reading of this great series of articles. We believe that you, as a subscriber to The Christian Century, will wish to share this editorial program with a number of your friends. We have prepared an illustrated announcement, in folder form, which we will be glad to send you (free of charge, of course); as many as you will profitably use. They may be mailed or handed to your friends, or placed on your church literature table. Ask for a generous supply. Use them widely. Fill out the coupon today.

The Christian Century
440 South Dearborn St., Chicago

Please send me ..... copies of your announcement about the series of articles on "If America Enters the War, What Shall I Do?" and other editorial features for the coming year. I will see that they are placed in the hands of friends who should be regular readers of The Christian Century, and I hope that many of them will subscribe.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

In This Issue

BAKER BROWNELL

is professor of philosophy in Northwestern University. He studied in the universities of Washington, Northwestern and Harvard here, and abroad in Tübingen and Cambridge. Among his books are *The New Universe,* 1926, *Earth is Enough,* 1933, and *Art in Action,* 1939. A new book, *The Philosopher in Chaos,* from which the article in this issue is taken, is about to be published by the D. Van Nostrand Co.

DEVERE ALLEN

is editor of the Nofrontier News Service and author of *The Fight for Peace* and other books. He spent several months in Europe as correspondent of The Christian Century in 1939-40. Formerly on the editorial staff of the *Nation,* he has been active in public affairs in Connecticut.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

is a regular contributor to The Christian Century. Formerly editor and publisher of the *Nation* and the *New York Evening Post,* he has been an active leader of American liberalism for a generation. His memoirs, *Fighting Years,* (1939) illuminates every important struggle for human rights which has occurred in this country since 1900. His exposé of the secret treaties of the First World War made journalistic history.

Coming

"The Iona Community" by George Carstairs, Christian Century correspondent in Scotland, is the fascinating story of the now famous Christian community on the island north of Scotland from which Christianity first came to that country. Many believe that the new Christianity will again reach Scotland from Iona. Read and see!

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 20, 1940

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Calendar of Coming Events

Nov. 17-20. National Christian Mission, Chicago.
Nov. 18-21. Baptist State Convention, Charlotte, N. C.
Nov. 21. United Christian Adult Conference, Springfield, Ill.
Nov. 21. North Georgia Methodist Conference, Atlanta.
Nov. 21. Alabama Methodist Conference, Panama City, Fla.
Nov. 21-24. National Christian Mission, Springfield, Ill.
Nov. 22-24. Baptist Young People's Convention, Flint, Mich.
Nov. 22-24. United Christian Youth Conference, Columbus, O.
Nov. 22-29. Annual Meeting, Methodist Board of Missions and Church Extension, Philadelphia.
Nov. 24. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Edmond Taylor, speaker.
Nov. 24. United Christian Adult Conference, Baltimore, Md.
Nov. 24. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Rufus M. Jones, speaker.
Nov. 24-Dec. 1. National Christian Mission, Baltimore, Md.
Dec. 1. United Christian Adult Conference, Hartford, Conn.
Dec. 1. Charles Street Forum, Boston; Bernard Iddings Bell, speaker.
Dec. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Frederick Schuman, speaker.
Dec. 1-8. National Christian Mission, Hartford, Conn.
Dec. 3. Methodist Council of Bishops, Atlantic City.
Dec. 4-10. Methodist Conference on Christian Education in the Church, Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 8. Charles Street Forum, Boston; George Hurley, speaker.
Dec. 8. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Max Lerner, speaker.
Dec. 8-12. Annual Meeting Home Missions Council, Atlantic City.
Dec. 8-12. Annual Meeting Council of Women for Home Missions, Atlantic City.
Dec. 10-13. Biennial Meeting Federal Council of Churches, Atlantic City.
Dec. 12-14. Methodist Youth Program Commission, Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 15. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Vincent Sheean, speaker.
Dec. 17-19. International Council Conference on the United Advance in Christian Education, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dec. 19. Annual Meeting, California Council of Churches, Los Angeles.
Dec. 22. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jay Allen, speaker.
Dec. 29. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Elmer Davis, speaker.
Jan. 5. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; John Erskine, speaker.
Jan. 5-12. National Christian Mission, Syracuse, N. Y.
Jan. 5-12. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 12. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Will Durant, speaker.
Jan. 12-19. National Christian Mission, Philadelphia.
Jan. 19. Ford Hall Forum, Boston, Harry F. Ward, speaker.
Jan. 19-26. National Christian Mission, Louisville, Ky.
Jan. 20-22. Women's Missionary Assembly, Jacksonville, Fla.
Jan. 20-22. Women's Missionary Assembly, Daytona Beach and Deland, Fla.
Jan. 25-29. Women's Missionary Assembly, Orlando, Fla.
Jan. 26. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Herbert Agar, speaker.
Jan. 26-28. Women's Missionary Assembly, Winter Park, Fla.
Jan. 26-Feb. 2. National Christian Mission, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jan. 29-31. Women's Missionary Assembly, Palm Beach, Fla.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LVII CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 20, 1940 NUMBER 47

EDITORIAL

CAN WE HAVE a national thanksgiving when so many nations are in dire distress and desperate danger? Why not? There have always been millions of our own people in want and misery when the nation has been summoned to thanksgiving, and the fortunate have always had to be on their guard—not always successfully—against smugness. Besides, gratitude has generally been found among those who are on a narrow margin of security and resources more than among the safe and affluent. But it is possible for the fortunate to give thanks unselfishly if they recognize their responsibilities and the source from which their blessings flow. The President struck the right note when he put the substance of his proclamation in the familiar words from the Book of Common Prayer: "Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of thy favor and glad to do thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord and confusion, from pride and arrogancy and from every evil way. Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue with the spirit of wisdom those to whom in thy name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to thy law, we may show forth thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in thee to fail. Amen."

Thanksgiving in a Time of Trouble

Congresswoman Rankin Returns to the House

TWENTY-TWO years after her enforced retirement from Congress, Jeanette Rankin of Montana has been returned to the House of Representatives. That Miss Rankin was the first woman in American history to be elected a member of the House is interesting enough, but more significant just now is the fact that she was one of the little group that voted against America's entrance into the World War in 1917. When she came up for reelection the next year—election day was a few days before the armistice—her district, like most of the rest of the United States, was in no mood to set the seal of approval upon one who had opposed participation in what then seemed a glorious and successful adventure. During the intervening years Miss Rankin has been much in Washington, working for peace. Now she comes back with a seat and a vote in Congress when another and a greater war is in progress and when the question of American participation threatens again to become a live issue in spite of the vast preponderance of public opinion and the definite commitment of the administration against it. One cannot but wonder whether she will again be called upon to vote on that question. The certainty as to how her vote would be cast must have had some weight with the voters who supported her. Unless there is a tremendous reversal of popular sentiment she will not be voting with the minority this time—if Congress gets a chance to vote. The platform on which she was reelected was: "Prepare to the limit for defense; keep our men out of Europe."

The Drive for a War Declaration Opens

WITH the election hardly over the campaign to induce the United States to declare war on Germany has taken a new start. Ambassador Kennedy said in his single campaign speech—incidentally, one of the most effective speeches of the campaign—that, despite the plea of H. N. Brailsford and his kind, England does not want this nation to enter the war and would not know how to use an American army if we did. But evidence accumulates that it won't be long before a full-fledged drive to bring the United States into the war will be under way. Thus, the latest issue of the liberal London weekly, the *New Statesman and Nation,* to reach this country shows that the readers of that paper are being told that the United States is "as near to a war footing and a war psychology" as it can get "until the solemn hour, if it ever comes, when the American battle fleet sails under sealed orders and the

doughboys set forth to help in 'smacking down the nazis.' " At the same time the *Chicago Daily News* has brought home the head of its London bureau, William H. Stoneman, to plead for an immediate declaration of war. In addresses and in widely syndicated articles this American correspondent brushes aside the idea that England doesn't need and doesn't want American military help immediately. "Light units of the American navy, certain types of American service aircraft and trained American pilots," Mr. Stoneman insists, should be sent at once. "Within a week of an American declaration of war," he asserts, "American bombers could be giving Berlin a shellacking such as it has never dreamed of. . . . A neutral United States, draft or no draft, is virtually marking time." Mr. Stoneman is out to put as quick an end as possible to this "marking time." We have little fear that any drive for an American war declaration led by British or other foreign propagandists can have much effect. But when great American newspapers allow their American correspondents to head such a drive, it is well to be on guard.

Demand Tax Money for Catholic Schools

IT IS a long continued story, this record of the Roman Catholic demand for a subvention from public taxation for the parochial schools, but new chapters of it are constantly being written. The latest is given in the current release of the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service under the date line, Washington, November 8: "The department of superintendents of the National Catholic Educational Association, at its annual meeting at the Catholic University of America here, today recommended that the Catholic school authorities 'continue their efforts to secure for Catholic school pupils a just share of the funds which are annually expended by the federal government and the individual states and subdivisions thereof for the support of education in the United States.' " The only thing particularly subtle about this is the phrasing which makes it appear to be an effort to get for Catholic school *pupils* something which is unjustly withheld from them although granted to the pupils in other schools. If one could believe that this meant social service, attention to health and the like, one could go along with them without demur. The health of children ought to be cared for, no matter what schools they attend. The most effective and economical way of doing this is to get at them where they are gathered together in large numbers in schools—no matter what schools. But when it comes to a demand for public money for the support of privately controlled schools, when the only reason for the existence of these schools is the teaching of a special form of religion, that is an entirely different matter and it rests on an entirely different principle. It involves a complete revolution in the American public school system. If the American people want to revolutionize their public school system, they have a right to do so, and the republic would not necessarily totter if they did. It is not the only school system in the world, and it has glaring faults, but we think it is the best for this country. But if it is to be radically changed it ought to be with a full understanding of what is being done and after a careful study of the working of the alternative system where it is in operation.

Is God a Director as Well As a Stockholder?

THAT GOD is the main factor in the guidance and growth of his business is the firm belief of Mr. R. G. LeTourneau. His factory in Peoria, Illinois, has been making earth-moving machinery for the past ten years or more, and it has expanded right through the depression. The fact that the expenditure of billions of public funds for roads, dams and canals has created an immensely enlarged demand for earth-moving machinery may have something to do with it, but of course God could be credited with singling out Mr. LeTourneau to be the beneficiary of this advantage in view of the fact that much of the profit is used for the support of missionary and evangelistic work. "God is the chief stockholder," says the president of the concern, because 67 per cent of the shares are held by a foundation that was established five years ago to spread the gospel. It is therefore somewhat disturbing to learn, through the latest issue of *Newsweek,* that R. G. LeTourneau, Inc., is now enlarging its plant to enter a new and still more profitable field—the manufacture of shells, for which it has received a $4,500,000 contract from the war department. This is in line with the "national defense" policy and does not, in itself, call for any special criticism. But one does not need to be either the seventh son of a seventh son or the recipient of a special revelation from on high to know that the munitions industry is going to be very profitable in the near future. One is, however, entitled to query whether the "chief stockholder" is also a member of the board of directors and whether he was recorded as voting affirmatively in the board meeting at which it was decided to embark on the new enterprise of manufacturing the instruments of sudden and wholesale destruction. If we have to make shells, it seems that it would be only decent not to drag God into it.

Compulsory Union In Japan

EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES that the merger of religious groups in Japan is being forced by the education department of the government, backed, of course, by the army. Such delay as is occurring among the forty-odd Protestant groups, many of them small independent missions, is coming from the passive resistance of the so-called fundamentalist bodies. Their objections arise, interestingly enough, even more from their refusal to be tainted by association with other Christians than from reluctance to be subjected to the pagan nationalist cult. One has written from Korea: "We wish to assure our friends that in case we are ever ordered by the government to join any union, modernistic group, we will never compromise or move from the position we have always held." A Christianity which can produce an insight no more discriminating deserves the fate that seems to be overtaking it, for the pressure for a merger to parallel the development in Japan is beginning also in Korea. In Japan the pastors of one of

these dissenting groups "have been called to the government office and instructed to cooperate with the movement" for union. The letter which contains this information continues: "All Christian groups which fail to work with this union church movement are to be suppressed, we understand. In order to stay in Japan, a certain missionary . . . took a Japanese name and went and reported to the family spirits in the Shinto shrine that he has become a Japanese." The example of this independent, self-supporting missionary has been followed by no other members of the missionary body. The Episcopal Church, because of its British and American connections, appears to be suffering most, while the Roman Catholic, whose foreign headquarters are in the capital of an Axis ally of Japan, is affected least.

Hollywood—How Good A Neighbor?

IT IS TOO BAD. In our movie-fashioned imagination, all South Americans wear tight, laced trousers and long sideburns; all languorous senoritas are adorned with tall combs and sweeping mantillas. But now the South Americans are up in arms, and it seems that this mental picture is the cause. They say that Hollywood can mangle the history and folkways, the manners and the customs of the United States to its heart's content, but that it must stop its misrepresentation of life below the Rio Grande. Just when the studios go into production on a big scale with a life of Simon Bolivar and various other good will masterpieces, a round robin protest said to have been signed by every film distributor in South America lands in the capital of filmdom with all the soothing repercussions of an aerial torpedo. It urges producers to put an immediate stop to the making of "good neighbor" pictures on the ground that they are nothing more than "cinematic insults." South Americans, they insist, are not half Indian. They wear the same kind of clothing that is worn in Europe and in North America. They keep their laced trousers and shawls in museums. Furthermore they maintain that the gaucho is an Argentine cowboy and that he is never seen in Rio de Janeiro, and they stubbornly adhere to this fact no matter how many lyrics it wrecks. To make matters worse Latin American audiences, who have graduated long since from duelling, are quick on the box office trigger. They are staying away in droves from productions which give the wrong twist to such patriotic themes as who won what. They suggest that if Hollywood is going to give the world a version of their history or leadership, they must do it with dignity and veracity or dump their films into the sea off Timbuctoo. This is very disconcerting. Hollywood had only the best of patriotic intentions. But it seems that other people can be patriotic too.

The War Catches Up with Albert Schweitzer

A CABLE in the morning paper reports: "It was announced from Dakar that the town of Lambarene, under siege since October 19, had fallen to the rebels and the English. It had been furiously bombarded by cannon and airplane." And at once one's mind began to ask, What has happened to Dr. Schweitzer? Will this war, as did the last, break up the ministry of this famous missionary, carrying on there indomitably in his hospital on the edge of the primeval forest? In the First World War Dr. Schweitzer, then a German subject, was rounded up by the French along with all the other Germans in French Equatorial Africa, even though he was working under a French Protestant mission. Taken back to Europe, he was herded in a prison camp. He has himself told the story of his privations as a war prisoner, and of the way in which his enormous energy made it possible for him to construct a rude contraption on which he could continue his finger exercises for the organ while at the same time his services as a doctor helped to save the lives and minds of scores of his fellow prisoners. When this war broke out, Schweitzer seemed safe enough. Now a French citizen, he went calmly on with his work at his hospital three thousand miles removed from the battlelines in Europe. Yet now, without warning, the war has leaped the leagues to Lambarene and engulfed him. What purpose is being served by General de Gaulle's attack on Gabon it is impossible, at this distance, to see. Whatever the stakes of high strategy involved, Dr. Schweitzer will now find himself caught in that most bitter of all forms of conflict, civil war. What will the capture of Lambarene do to his hospital and to the mission work which spreads out from that center of healing? What will it do to Dr. Schweitzer himself? Is war once more to bring to an end for a time one of the noblest careers of human service in all Christian history? If it does, it will be but one more mad incident in a mad world.

American Influence and Peace Negotiations

HOW LITTLE the public knows with regard to what is going on behind the curtain of censorship and official silence which shuts off the war is well illustrated by its ignorance of recent peace drives. Three weeks ago these columns contained the report of the Nofrontier News Service on the negotiations which it said were initiated in September. Now it has become known that there was another peace drive of some sort late in October. Hitler's speech at Munich, insisting that he would fight on to a knockout victory, should be read as an acknowledgment that this October bid for peace had failed. Did the United States have anything to do with persuading Great Britain to reject this most recent advance? The N.N.S. report held that this country had much to do with blocking negotiations in September. The public will not know what happened in connection with the latest peace drive until the curtain on secret diplomacy is lifted, long after the war is over. But it is of interest to note that at the time when this drive must have been most intense Mr. Roosevelt went out of his way, in his Boston campaign speech, to tell the world that the United States, having already taken orders for 14,000 planes for England, was about to promise 12,000 more. Yet in the same week that the President thus announced through the press of the world that 26,000 American planes would be thrown into the war on the British side, the United States department of commerce released figures which showed that only the merest trickle of planes is actually being sent to England and reports

from the aircraft industry revealed that this trickle cannot be largely increased for more than two years to come. Exports of American planes to Britain in September totaled only 136; in October, for which official figures are not yet available, they were only "about 200." Not before 1942 will they rise much above a yearly rate of about 2,500. Mr. Roosevelt's promise of 26,000 may have had a decided effect on the British public. Were the actual facts as to deliveries also made known to the British people?

Another Message from England

A FEW WEEKS AGO, in the issue for October 2, an editorial discussion of the pros and cons of American entrance into the European war took as its point of departure Mr. Brailsford's thesis, as expressed in his recent book, *From England to America: A Message,* that America should immediately declare war against Germany and send a great army to Continental battlefields. Now comes another message from England to America, of radically different import. It is delivered in Henry Jesson's *And Beacons Burn Again: Letters from an English Soldier,* published by the D. Appleton-Century Company.

The substance of Mr. Jesson's message is: Stay out! For your own sake and for ours, stay out!

The authorities behind these two pieces of divergent advice are scarcely comparable, nor do their arguments traverse the same area. Mr. Brailsford is a publicist of long experience and international reputation, an authentic liberal with no illusions concerning Britain's imperial policy and administrative errors in the past. His argument revolves about the conviction that this fight against the engulfment of the world by the new totalitarian order can be won only by carrying the war into the enemy's country. It is not enough, he says, for Great Britain to hold out. The nazi and fascist power must be broken where it now prevails—that is, on the continent of Europe—and that cannot be done without America's active participation, with men as well as munitions.

Mr. Jesson is a young Englishman of high social station but with no experience in public life and no pretension to expertness in military strategy, and his letters were written to an American friend without thought of publication. He is an Oxford graduate, and was for two years the holder of a fellowship in an American school of dramatic art. Before the war he was a pacifist. The record of his gradual abandonment of the pacifist position is interesting, but that is another story. It adds, however, to the significance of his present message that it is not based upon a general renunciation of war. "How else can anyone help now except by meeting this colossal force with even firmer force, but keep that force as clean as possible? . . . Our only method of helping these innocents is to kill the killer." This is not the voice of pacifism. England must fight, so he has left the stage which he loves and has voluntarily gone into the army which he would hate except that it seems to him the necessary means to a necessary end. He argues the question of American participation, if he can be said to argue at all, not as a question of military strategy but as what might be called a matter of social and cultural strategy. His own words are clear and eloquent:

> With more and more people finding more and more reasons why the United States should come in and help us, I know with an even greater conviction than ever that it would be truly and ultimately wrong if you did. The day the United States came in too, then I might despair, for this ghastly slaughter has spread so quickly and mercilessly all over Europe that I keep on saying, the greatest courage is still found for me in the sure knowledge that true, sane, peaceful living is still going on somewhere. Help us with planes and supplies, but behind that, go on living normally and calmly with everyday, ordinary living. Refuse yourselves the luxury of jitters. For all of you that is just as hard these days as fighting and killing is for us. Go on acting, painting, writing and learning. Go on looking at lovely buildings, appreciate calmly their beauty. Go on putting up new and beautiful buildings. Go on discovering how to conquer disease and to prevent suffering, as well as building armaments; preserve and proceed with that culture we have all been building and creating for so many centuries. If you are not left in peace to do this, then indeed I will say that Hitler's rule of the jungle has triumphed over the best in our civilization. If you can guard the real and the good things for us, the simple everyday things, then I personally need never despair. I can always see the future which will build and build higher and ever higher toward the world you and I believe in.

This is not the argument of either a publicist or a soldier. Mr. Jesson is no publicist, and he had not gone far toward being a soldier when the last of these letters was written two months ago. It is scarcely an argument at all, but it is the kind of stuff out of which all sound arguments about matters of deep human interest are made. It is a testimony of one man's valuation of the things that are possible in peace and impossible in war, and without which a victory won by war is worthless.

Mr. Jesson does not pretend that his view is shared by many in England. In one place he says: "There is literally no one who feels as I do, and so many people are resentful about the United States and neutrality." (That was in October 1939.) Again (April 1940) he speaks of the "growing criticism of America," but immediately adds: "America is the last country still alive to the simple standards of civilized Christian humanity. [We hope it's true.] Pray God you will keep out of it! The European mess will never be solved unless it is solved by Europe itself. . . . Heaven help you if false sentimental emotion is pumped into the United States. I pray, I really pray that you will stay out." And yet again (in July): "I long with any remaining longing that the U.S.A. will stay out of this war. I do believe that Roosevelt will achieve that."

About this impassioned appeal there is little that needs to be said. It must be taken for just what it is, not the opinion of a military expert but the word of a young British soldier who has everything to live for—friends, youth, fortune, work that he loves—and who has the insight to know that victory over the enemy would be an empty thing if there did not remain in the world a nucleus from which liberty, justice, religion, culture and all the things that belong to the free spirit of man might again grow.

America need not be selfish or smug or self-righteous to realize that she has, in some sense, become the trustee of

these things. It is above all necessary that she be faithful to that trust. And it is well to be recalled to this trusteeship by such a voice as Mr. Jesson has lifted. In the roar of battle, as he has said, it is a lonely voice.

Vigilance and National Unity

THE ELECTION has been followed by a chorus of demands for national unity. Mass meetings are being held to promote that end. Editorials preaching it as a patriotic duty fill the press. The William Allen White Committee announces that its next aim is to unite the nation behind its reelected chief executive. Mr. Willkie has addressed the nation on the subject. National unity, it is being made to appear, is the one end to which all good Americans should immediately direct their efforts. If it can be secured, America is safe. If it is not secured, America is in dire peril.

As to the desirability of a unifying of the national will and the national interest at such a time as this there can be no debate. The national welfare requires that the rancors of the campaign shall be discarded and that the President shall be assured against mere partisan or perverse obstruction. But when "national unity" is held up as the be-all and end-all of American patriotism, it is time to ask what is meant by the term. There can be a national unity that will betoken a democracy gathering new strength. And there can be a national unity that will doom a democracy to totalitarian extinction. The United States wants none of the latter.

Some of those who are clamoring most loudly for national unity really seek nothing more than a blank cheque for the President. They talk about the "mandate" given him by his election for an unprecedented third term, and interpret that as a right to expect unquestioning acquiescence from the nation for any policies which he may espouse. The election returns should be sufficient to disclose the flimsiness of such claims. Now that almost all the votes have been tabulated there is nothing about the election more meaningful than the narrowness of the margin by which Mr. Roosevelt squeezed in. The "landslide" which appeared when only the vote in the electoral college could be computed disappeared as soon as the popular vote had been counted. President Roosevelt, it now appears, received less than 55 per cent of the popular vote. If the solid south is left out of the calculation, his vote will be a shade less than 52 per cent of the total in those parts of the nation where the one-party system of the south is not yet established.

Some commentators are pointing out how slight a shift of votes would have been required to change the election's outcome. A shift of one vote in twenty in the nation as a whole would have elected Willkie. But if one vote in a hundred had been shifted in the ten states of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri and Oregon, Mr. Roosevelt would not have been returned to the White House. However, these election "ifs" are not so important as the registered result which shows that, without the wide margin given him in the south and without the victories marked up for him by corrupt city machines in the north (where he carried every city of more than 400,000 population with the possible exception of Cincinnati), Mr. Roosevelt would have been defeated. His "mandate," such as it is, has been conferred by the one-party system of the south with the help of the city bosses of the north.

Equally worthy of comment, in the light of the complete election returns, is the location of the opposition to Mr. Roosevelt's reelection. It was the Valley of Democracy which registered most emphatically its distrust of the President's leadership. Aside from Maine and Vermont—kept in the Republican column by a sharply reduced majority which in itself registered the difference in outlook between the Atlantic seaboard and the central portion of the country—"the center of defection," as Dr. Gallup phrased it in his post-election analysis, "was in the midwest farm area." The Roosevelt vote declined sensationally from its 1936 level in such states as the Dakotas, Kansas, Colorado, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Montana. In Illinois a Roosevelt majority of more than 700,000 four years ago dropped to less than 100,000. What did this mean? That the farmers of the midwest were dissatisfied with the agricultural policy of the Democrats and favored that of the Republicans? No, for there was nothing to choose between the two parties in that regard. But these states of the midwest, in addition to their objection to a third term, were filled with a deep-seated fear that the President's foreign policy was leading to war, and they voted to register their demand for peace.

The vote in the middle west shows how great was the opportunity missed by the Republicans. Mr. Willkie lost the presidency because he gave the voters no chance to register their convictions on the one issue on which they had deep and positive convictions. If he had led his party in a clear-cut crusade against intervention, against conscription and for a positive peace policy, Mr. Willkie would today, in our opinion, be president-elect. As it was, eight of these midwestern states gave him their electoral votes, not because they were satisfied with Mr. Willkie's utterances on America's relation to the war, but because their misgivings at the President's foreign policy outweighed all other considerations. In Illinois the Republican state ticket, with its senatorial and other candidates running on an unequivocal non-interventionist platform, swept to victory. In Minnesota, in Wisconsin and in still doubtful Michigan although Mr. Roosevelt edged out Mr. Willkie, non-interventionists not on the Democratic ticket won their races for the Senate. Just before the election Richard L. Neuberger stated in an article in the *Nation* that had Willkie run on a strong non-interventionist platform he would probably have carried the Pacific northwest.

An effort is being made to obscure this peace demand of the voters by claiming that both candidates agreed on foreign policy during the campaign and that therefore every citizen who voted for either one of them approved all intervention possible short of an actual declaration of war. This conclusion is unwarranted. It is true that both candidates favored the same policy with regard to intervention in the war, and *for that very reason Willkie lost!* Had

the Republican candidate given the American people reason to believe that there was a significant difference between his determination to keep this country out of the war and that of Mr. Roosevelt, he would have reversed the narrow Roosevelt majorities in more than a dozen states.

Mr. Roosevelt has a shrewd political mind. Despite the efforts of interventionists to throw dust in the air as to the relation of the election outcome to foreign policy, Mr. Roosevelt will understand the meaning of that solid bloc of Willkie electoral votes in the heart of the nation and of the spectacular Republican gains in states in which, by narrow margins, the electoral vote remained Democratic. And he will know, as only the experienced political leader can know, that this means there can be no unforced national unity, no national unity worth the having, so long as the fear persists that he is following a policy which will carry the United States into war.

It is a truism to say that we need national unity. But in such a time as this we need a national unity which derives from a vigilant and free public opinion. This is no time for a blank cheque national policy. Our statesmen have no right to ask the 22,000,000 voters who registered their want of confidence in the administration to gag themselves just because, in an election in which the vital issue was never allowed to come to a showdown, 27,000,000 others outvoted them. If it is the well-being of American democracy that is being sought, as is declared, there never was a time when this nation needed a vigorous, vigilant, clear-spoken and free expression of dissent more than it does today.

It must not be forgotten that in Mr. Roosevelt's election the long-standing tradition against a third term for the President was broken. Those to whom this principle of limited tenure was so important as to be decisive in their refusal to support the President's candidacy must not allow themselves to forget that the next four years will be third-term years. The third term candidacy violated a deep principle as well as a venerable tradition. It is in the next four years that the fruits of its violation will appear. Vigilance will be necessary to nip these fruits in the bud and to guard against their ripening into the evils feared when the voters cast their ballots—many millions of them on this issue alone—against Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy. The potential evils of the third term could ask no better disguise under which to develop than the slogan of national unity. The most threatening danger of the third term is the possible shift of the political process to a one-party system. That shift can all too easily be made under the sentimental appeal for the abrogation of criticism and for everybody good naturedly to fall in line behind the President who is also the head of the party now so deeply intrenched. Constant vigilance is required on this score for the next four years.

Will Mr. Willkie lead this large body of vigilant opinion? He evidently intends to try to do so. His post-election radio address to the nation—one of the best he has yet made—brilliantly established the case for an active opposition and pointed out the speciousness of the idea of coalition governments under the American political system. Unfortunately, however, the program which Mr. Willkie proposes is confined wholly to domestic issues, is concerned chiefly with fiscal matters, and is best summed up in its central provision: "Taxes and government restrictions should be adjusted to take the brakes off private enterprise so as to give it freedom, under wise regulation, to release new investments and new energies and thus to increase the national income." What is the popular interpretation of such a program bound to be? That Mr. Willkie's main concern is to give business a free hand to pile up profits. That is putting it crudely, but the general public thinks crudely. Such an opposition will kindle the imagination and support of only that part of the Willkie vote in the recent election which habitually thinks in terms of the Mark Hanna era.

Mr. Roosevelt can have a genuine, unforced national unity as long as he can persuade the American people that he is successfully strengthening the nation and keeping the solemn peace pledges which he made in the campaign. Strengthening the nation involves more than spending billions for armament; some indication of its profound requirements may be found in the thoughtful article by Professor MacLean which appeared in these pages last week. As to the President's pledge that "your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars," the "American fathers and mothers" to whom that was addressed will give him every possible measure of support in living up to it. But they cannot help being apprehensive when they hear his secretary of the navy, in a speech demanding national unity, declare that "we are not going to meet this menace [of the Axis powers] with words. The only course is to meet it with deeds." What sort of deeds?

There is a national unity which America can achieve, but it depends upon President Roosevelt whether it can be made an actuality. It cannot be a unity of blindfolds or gags. It must be free eyed and free spoken. It must assert the right, nay more, the democratic and patriotic duty, when the President leads toward disaster to say so. There must be no stumbling down another road to war without challenge. Such a national unity can result only from the people's confidence in the good faith and wisdom of their leaders. And such a unity does not for one moment release the patriotic citizen from his obligation to be ceaselessly vigilant in guarding our democratic order against a smooth and unctuous beguilement into a totalitarian one-party system. What is fascism itself but national unity achieved by the suppression of alternatives in public policy?

Pet Aversions

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have never heard you say that this or that person or thing was your pet aversion, but I have no doubt you have said it. I certainly have. Of course you, if you ever said so, and I who certainly did, were perfectly justified in our aversions. But somehow when I hear other people saying those words I find they are not so impregnable as we are.

Meeting one day a senior friend on a journey, I was asked by him where I was going. "To see Theophrastus," I answered. His eyes darkened; his mouth did whatever the mouth does to show distaste. "I can't stand the man,"

he said, "he is my pet aversion." Now I am perfectly certain that if I met that same friend today and introduced the same name, his face would be the scene of the same maneuvers and his lips would utter the same words. They have become automatic.

That seems to be the real danger of these other people. In their mind there are a number of what were once footpaths, which have now by long use become hard and swift roads down which the thoughts which at one time moved slowly, race swiftly and without any brake. Now the very name of a man who is disliked perhaps for something which happened a generation ago, starts off the old judgment. The speaker is no longer master of his aversions; they master him.

My senior friend does not know this but his friends do. The wicked ones delight to draw him, as schoolboys draw their masters. The kinder keep off the subject. All of them know, as we put it, that the name of Theophrastus is to him as a red rag to a bull. I have no means of understanding the unconscious of the bull, but I doubt whether when he sees a red rag he carefully considers why he is driven to toss the owner of it! He simply does it. So does the man with a pet aversion.

The phrase itself, like so many phrases, gives the speaker away. It is a *pet* aversion. He gives it a home; he gives it food and clothing; he never forgets it. It is to him what a dog may be to his master. He would be sorry to lose it. Now that cannot be a good thing for anyone. It is likely to poison the mind, and the same spring, we have been reminded, does not send forth sweet water and bitter.

If we begin to inquire why such a man has loved and cherished such an enmity, we shall probably find that the cause was a wound to his vanity. One speech, reported with the embellishments which always go with reports, was quite enough. It has made for itself a royal road, and now has right of way. But it is possibly true that he dislikes Theophrastus for something in his character which is uncommonly like his own. Nothing makes a man more angry than to see his own faults in others. It is no sign of immunity from some vice to have a pet aversion for those who practice it. That may be little more than a trick by which a man hopes to bolster up his tottering defenses, or perhaps disguise his surrender.

I suppose it is best, if I am conscious that the name of a certain man calls forth from me without my thinking of it a certain formula of dislike, that I should call a halt and begin to inquire not what is wrong with him, but what is wrong with me.

Ever yours introspectively,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

There Will Be Peace

THE light will shine again; it cannot die,
For truth can never pass as winters go
With lengthening twilight, and uncertain snow
That faintly flutters through a leaden sky.
There will be peace at last, and you and I
Will find before the early tulips blow
A field to plant against the summer's glow
And yellow harvest when the wild geese fly.

MARGARET MILLER PETTENGILL.

Imponderables

A STORM swept down the garden in the night
Sending the maple leaves in swirls to bed,
Bowing in pain the dahlia's golden head,
Tumbling the pears. . . . But in the still dawn-light
Outside the pane I saw a wondrous thing—
A gossamer unbroken in the fray,
Its slender threads hung thick with diamond spray
And delicate as the fringe on a butterfly's wing.

I have seen fragile nests outlast the storm,
And ships, fog-veiled, elude a mighty foe,
And firebrands hurled to work a deadly harm
Turn with the wind to lay the hurler low. . . .
How prompt the hidden powers that secretly arm
The desperate soul—this I have seen, I know.

RUBY WEYBURN TOBIAS.

Many Doors

THERE are many doors
Opening from the narrow road.
There is the door of love,
Of the offered cup,
Of the giving of the better robe.
There is the door of truth
Which a man, awe-stricken,
Comes upon when the mind steps
Beyond the bands which bind the stars.
There is the door of beauty;
This may lie upon the edge of a garden,
May open with the unfolding
Of primrose in the evening hour.

MERAB EBERLE.

The Harbor

PILOT—Let me take the wheel. Your hands are trembling.
MARINER—Why, who are you?
PILOT—I am the pilot. You look worn.
MARINER—It was a rough voyage. But now the sea is growing calm. Why do I need a pilot?
PILOT—You are nearing the harbor of the unknown country. Come, let me take the wheel.
MARINER—Do you know the harbor and the country?
PILOT—I know the unknown.

ARTHUR B. RHINOW.

Will Science Commit Suicide?

By Baker Brownell

CONCERNING the future of science there are two prophecies. One is pessimistic: Science is a clanking monster, a Moloch of steel with burning coal inside. It will consume what is worth while in our civilization and destroy itself. The other is optimistic: Science is a Galahad, a figure of heroic power conquering poverty and disease. It will support the better things of life and establish itself permanently. Both prophecies recognize that science with its technology, after a century or so of revolutionary influence, has come to a crisis in its own history. It has matured. Its future may be either quick senility and decline or its confirmation as virtually immortal.

I

Science, and the culture of science, has indeed matured. Its works are assembled before us. It has given us new freedoms, new hopes. It has taken away other freedoms, destroyed other hopes. As the culture of science develops it becomes more and more clear that not all the bright promises of its youth are fulfilled. Nor are the burdens of superstition, disease, poverty, low production, which science lifted from our backs, entirely without compensation on the darker side of the picture. Other burdens have been put upon us. Other less pleasant promises that we did not listen to in its youth have come to fruition. Some of these deeply affect the conditions under which science has grown up. The time has come when we must ask whether science itself can survive the conditions that science is now influential in creating.

Never has science been more eminent as a way of life and a method of work. It is eminent in production and industry. It is eminent in war, in medicine, in social experiment. But that eminence may be its last loftiness before it disappears, a last flaring before darkness. Modern organizations and institutions made possible by science, such as the great industrial corporation, the factory system, the totalitarian state, the highly organized blitzkrieg, the great structures built for promotion and propaganda, the modern megalopolitan city, are in some cases and in some ways antagonistic to science. They may destroy it. This child of science, the technological organization of human activity, is, it may be, like Oedipus doomed to kill his father and to blind himself.

The pessimists today are heard more often than a few years ago. Science, they say, is an instrument that will serve any master who can push the right buttons. It has no purpose in itself, no character, no social control. It evolves by nature into vast applications of technology, or inversely, as C. E. Ayres would say, it evolves from them. In any case, says the pessimist, science is a matter of tone-hard technique, of cold precision, that adds to human power but in no way enlightens human purpose.

Thus the ability of the United States to do work was in 1899 about 25,000,000 horse power, or two man power per person. In 1935 it was 1,231,000,000 horse power, or 100 man power per person. But this fiftyfold increase in our power in less than forty years was accompanied by no perceptible improvement in human purpose. A small nation of today, such as Finland, probably could defeat all the great nations of two centuries ago, but the behavior of nations in terms of human values can hardly be called better.

Despots, economic and political, can use this new power. They can use it because the scientist and technologist abstains by the ethics of his profession from making judgment on the social utility of his work. For the engineer a job is a technical one; he obeys his employer and makes a bridge or a bomb as the case may be. Henry Ford is reported to have said that he can buy all the brains he wants for a hundred dollars a week. For the physician the job is to cure the sick, whether the sick be a saint, a murderer, an imbecile or a tyrant. For the academic scholar a fact is a fact, and a new one in his field is to be sought after and prized regardless.

By these ethical austerities science plays into the hands of those who use it eventually to its own hurt. That "professionalism" of this sort has its value is obvious. It has been the moral foundation of science and its principle of growth. It is an example of the objectivity of science and the social discipline. It is necessary in any ideology that can be called scientific. It is a kind of intellectual quarantine system, designed to protect scientific health and purity from outside infections. But the results are often disastrous. Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do what the social and individual compulsions of their group require them to do. Science in short is concerned with methods and operations, with research and production, not with social value.

Thus the despot may use science to destroy less despotic systems and patterns of life, such as liberalism and democracy. His advantage lies in centralization, though human values may lie in the opposite.

For the pessimistic, science is essentially servile. It needs a master. And the master that it gets is more and more the dictator, the irresponsible man of power. The man on horseback has returned after a liberal interlude. He may be a soldier, a political dictator, a financier, an industrialist. But his power in any case comes from massive, technological science. Asks the pessimist: Which despot shall we have?

II

But optimism is also possible. According to this view science can survive only in a society that is free, humane. The power that science brings must in the long run support societies that maintain the liberal conditions in which science can survive. For science depends, first, on freedom to determine significant facts and to publish them; second, on freedom to experiment and to draw the conclusions that the facts seem to justify. Neither one of these is found in an illiberal society.

The history of science supports this view. Science arose from the slow growth and fusion of three systems of freedom or autonomy. The freedom or autonomy of reason among the Greeks, the freedom or inner autonomy of moral judgment among the Protestants, the autonomy or self-sufficiency of the material system as seen by Bacon and others, all had their part in the growth of science. It is liberal in origins. It is pluralistic, not totalitarian, in nature; for science is not one thing, but an organization of diverse, even contradictory factors, that nevertheless are cooperative in result.

In a liberal culture science has arisen, and until recently its growth has been over the persistent antagonism of the reactionaries. Even the bathtub, that domestic symbol of American technology, has had its heroisms. President Fillmore, it is said, installed one in the White House over bitter opposition. The medical profession, with its usual social vision, warned against these innovations. And in 1843 an ordinance in Philadelphia prohibiting bathing between November 1 and March 15 failed of passage by only two votes.

Thus the optimist: Science and liberalism are irrevocably associated. Only people with this correlation of cultures can attain modern technology and power, and keep it. But the pessimist: Whatever its history, science now will obey any master. More and more often that master is despotic. The contradiction between these two has had as yet no answer in theory or in practice. The hope that most Americans still maintain in regard to the dilemma may be the best answer of all.

Modern technology nevertheless seems to be favorable to despotic control in economic and political situations. This at least at present. Where gunpowder from the fourteenth century on for five hundred years is supposed to have been a democratic influence, modern industrial and military technologies favor centralized authority and highly organized mass production of goods or of death as the case may be.

In Europe and America, for example, the total man and animal power is said to equal sixty million horse power. This is distributed widely. The mechanical power in the same regions, however, is nearly two billion horse power. And this is highly concentrated. The mass organization of peoples, the totalitarian state, the vast inequalities of power, wealth, privilege of the modern economic system, all owe their being to modern technology. It tends towards social, economic, military concentration, at present.

Must we assume then that modern science and technology as an instrument of despotism will destroy the liberal culture from which science arose? Must we assume further that in destroying this culture science must destroy itself? Will science commit suicide?

III

Events probably will write one of three answers to this question. The first is corporative science.

Modern technological methods may lead to vast, despotic societies. From these in turn super-technologies may evolve to control all forces unfavorable to such societies. The totalitarian states are moving in this direction. Their control over modern instruments of communication, over highly organized systems of production and supply, over machines for fast attack and other executions of power, makes regional revolt or popular independence a new and most difficult problem. Finance-capitalism, too, if a hyphenated word may be used to cover a variegated and complex set of tendencies, is hell-bent in the same direction. It differs in being oligarchic rather than monistic, and less tightly organized.

In these societies, science becomes what may be called corporative science. Limits are set up in any situation beyond which science may not go, but within those limits there is a good deal of freedom to experiment. Informally and unconsciously such limits of course are established in any pattern of science whether it be democratic or corporative in type, but in corporative science there are also fixed and formal limits set up by institutional authorities outside of science. These boundaries restrict the development of science and canalize it towards whatever social utility or private advantage the executive leaders think worth while. Thus is the freedom of science restricted and in part abandoned in order to correlate the work of scientists and engineers with the corporative whole. Clearly this is one way of dealing with the irresponsible servility of science to which the pessimist calls attention. A master is established so that science and technology may not serve other masters not in harmony with the powers that be. While democratic science has internal authority or discipline along with external freedom to work in any direction that the spirit may lead, corporative science has external authority to determine the objective, leaving to the scientist what internal freedom of means and methods may be needed to get it.

Of corporative science there are many examples old and new. Religious institutions through all their history have usually established external limits or dogmas beyond which inquiry may not go. But within those dogmas reason is fairly free to work out what patterns it will. The German anthropologist, again, may have some freedom in his researches so long as he does not encroach on the Aryan, anti-Jewish myth. The Russian biologist may go his own way in regard to the problems of heredity and environment, he may even translate Conklin's great book on that subject into Russian, so long as he omits the sections on heredity or other ideas that are not consistent with the Marxian line in this field.

And the business corporation may set up great laboratories for research. These may add much to knowledge so long as the product of them does not interfere with profits. One great American company, for example, suppressed 3,400 unused patents in order to forestall competition. Meanwhile it accepted other researches that were profitable.

These external restrictions on science, whether by church, state or business corporation, are humanly explainable. They may even be socially expedient in some cases. But it is hard to adjust them to the liberal doctrines of free inquiry on which science has been nurtured. It is quite possible, indeed, that a new morality of science is developing where research and experiment can still survive. Such science would not be free. It would be a

science of limited objectives, shrewdly accommodated to the corporative or social whole, free to move only in designated directions. No longer would its periphery be infinite. No longer would it be a liberalizing, revolutionary influence, an adventurous pioneer into unexpected realms. Its objectives would be fixed by authorities other than its own imagination. Its romance would be largely lost. But its technical competence within the frame of systems already in existence might be greater than before. It would fortify the status quo more than destroy it. This, says the pessimist, has already happened.

Whether corporative science of this sort can endure over a long period is doubtful. But it is successful now. Though parasitic perhaps on free science, the discoveries of which still give the modern world its momentum, it may endure long enough to defeat a liberal kind of civilization in which alone free science can survive. Society would then no doubt be a vast field of elaborations, adjustments, organizations of what is now at hand. The young world would grow old.

IV

The second answer as to the fate of science may be indeed its suicide, for this by no means is beyond the realm of possibility.

Modern technology, in a word, may become so servile that it will lose all impulse for the search, all self-reliance, all originality. Having created the instruments for its destruction, having given itself ultimately to centralized control, it will sink from a science to a craft and thence to a trade where rules of thumb prevail. Already grave evils are attributed to the growth of modern technology. The extension of these evils over Western society in general would make all science impossible. Social insecurity, waste, war, regimentation, moral irresponsibility, vicarious art and play, a money culture, insanity, noise, dust, death are said to be the price that we pay for the advantages that technology gives us. These advantages, longer life, more wealth, less superstition, less cruelty, shorter hours, class decay, should be balanced carefully against the disintegrative culture that comes with them.

With science, technology and the liberal civilization in which they have arisen dead by their own hands, society, it may be supposed, will sink into a new dark age of unenlightened despotism.

V

The third answer is more hopeful: Centralized control over technology will break down of its own weight leaving the field to liberal science and culture and a generous pluralism of human values.

Science in the service of despotic powers may fail so signally in competition with the free science of a democratic people that its despotic host, after brief and bloody explosions, will fail too. Thus a liberal culture and a free science would remain. Lest this ignore the failings of a democratic system that after all produced within itself the weapons of reaction, a further question must be considered. Do a liberal culture and a free science always involve continued concentration of power and property as in this troubled present? The answer is, No.

The motive, first, for economic and political concentration is quite as often a desire for power as for social efficiency. The assumption, again, that efficient application of modern technology to life leads necessarily to greater centralization and mass production has not been carefully analyzed, and the fact that many economists, even many technologists, make such an assumption is probably one of the most disastrous errors of these confused times. There is much to indicate that we can move with modern technology towards efficient decentralization in many fields when we intelligently desire it. The automobile, the Diesel engine, the electrical transmission of power, the new household and homestead devices, the small, modern shop, the decentralized factory are a few of the modern instruments of decentralization. In 1933 the private automobile accounted for 94.7 per cent of the passenger-miles traveled in the United States. This is drastic decentralization in at least one field.

Though democracy and liberal science are probably incompatible with highly centralized systems it by no means follows that democratic systems may not be efficient. But efficiency in a democratic system will apply not solely to specialized production, it will be a broader term that refers to a balance and adjustment of variegated human values. In such a system efficiency will mean decentralization in many fields in order that human society once more may be human.

Here then are three brief answers as to the future of science: science will survive with despotism; science will commit suicide leaving despotism; science will give victory to liberal culture. Most of us would like to believe the third. But the evidence for the future of free science and free peoples is none too good. The future may as easily write one answer as another. On the one hand modern technology can be the agency of greater security and better living. On the other it supports despotic power, is destructive and thus makes life less secure. The insecurities in this unstable equilibrium at present dominate. Those peoples with the greatest degree of long-time power, courage and loyalty to mankind will probably write the answer for themselves.

Behind the Records

BEHIND the face of glory leers a skull,
And grandeur is a house of dead men's bones.
For every valiant deed historians cull,
What writhing arms, what unrecorded moans!
Forever shall their triumphs be renowned—
Caesar and Hannibal and Tamerlane!
Each time they smiled, what multitudes have drowned
In the red ocean, on blood-running plain!

And if the gods, in sorrow, from the sky
Look down and see how millions kneel to him
For whose bright honor other millions die,
Then they must feel that all earth's lights grow dim;
While the true splendor haunts the lonely heart
That throbs for man, and beats unknown, apart.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

For Every Reason: Feed Europe!

By Devere Allen

NOT OFTEN do reasons of humanity, self-preservation, economic advantage and military strategy combine to prompt one course of action. Yet on all these grounds this country should assume a major share in the task of feeding the victims of Hitler's conquests.

Said a thoughtful Frenchman to me last spring, just before the blitzkrieg, "If this war goes on for a couple of years, we will all be living like rats in caves." There was then a sufficiency of butter and adulterated bread, though little milk, few eggs and a scarcity of meat. If you belonged—as most did not—to the fraction of the population able to buy all the meat allowed, on three days of the week you could regale yourself (at six ounces to the meal, bone counted) on fried brains, goat, rabbit and very rarely on chicken or steak. Poland was already destitute. Belgium had been unable to lay up reserves. Holland had done so, but inadequately. Norway and Denmark had already felt the dire pinch of war, before the invasion.

Europe's Food Outlook

Some food the nazi conquerors have undoubtedly taken away. But the general idea that they have cleaned the invaded territories right out is denied by relief workers in a part of the invaded region. Even if this were not true, it is time that Americans began to understand more realistically the economic facts involved. From France the nazis could not have taken much because great stores were lacking. About Norway and Denmark there is deep misunderstanding. Denmark, for example, in economic terms is not precisely the verdant farm its name conjures up to most eyes; it is a manufacturing country, with pigs and cows for "factories" which depend on imported raw materials in the form of fodder. When the feed cannot be brought in because of a blockade the "factories" have to be razed, or slaughtered. Germany got some meat that way last spring, but now Denmark is getting less than the normal imports in days prior to April 9, when Germany took over.

Dr. Karl Evang, director general of Norway's public health service, says that his countrymen would suffer from the blockade even if no foodstuffs were taken out. Norway's yearly importation of sugar was 80,000 tons, of molasses 20,000 tons, and of grain 330,000 tons, counting only that required for human consumption. Animals would have had to be killed in all these countries and, once eaten, there could be no new supply. Basing my figures on depletion I saw myself, and on statistics in the *Economist,* London weekly, I estimate that on May 10 there were "on the hoof" altogether in France not more than 100 pounds of meat for every normal inhabitant. Only a portion could be killed, for some milk, eggs and other products would be needed as a minimum. Some has been used, no doubt, for feeding the amazing number of French soldiers imprisoned in Germany—1,800,000! Into unoccupied France 6,000,000 refugees poured all at once. The *Economist* asserted last summer that "the tenth of the cereal supplies of continental Europe that is normally imported across the sea is now shut off by blockade and in the last two months such crops as were growing in Norway, Belgium, Holland and northeastern France [the main French cereal district] have been drowned, burnt, shelled, crushed and destroyed." And since then they have been bombed by British planes when near military objectives.

The Facts Are Coming Out

Foreign policy and figures, over here, have kept close company. Last summer the department of agriculture predicted that if Germany shared her possessions there would be no food shortage. Germany will not do so. More important, she could not do so while she keeps an army, which she must feed well, as would any less guilty nation if similarly placed. But by October 16 somebody had read a newspaper. The department discovered that bad crops, adverse weather, severe cold last winter, a late spring, floods, disrupted labor conditions and (almost incidentally, it seemed) "military activities," had all played a part, and things might get pretty bad. According to the department's own words: "The crop in France, ordinarily almost self-sufficient, is believed to have been much decreased. Low bread rations have been fixed in Belgium, France and the Netherlands."

This is not a question of simple mercy. It is one of prudence. Into my hands have recently come three private, uncensored reports indicating the prevalence of minor epidemics in unoccupied France. Some deaths from typhus in the refugee camps have already occurred. Malaria is widespread and, for lack of treatment, increasingly dangerous. Friends of mine staying in certain villages speak of large numbers similarly placed who suffer continuously from "fever and perpetually recurring illnesses for which we can find no specific cause save poor sanitation, inadequate medical supplies and scanty food." They insist in fairness that they are not sparingly fed in comparison to the rations available on the average for French nationals.

When Children Go Hungry

How can one put in words the tension which precedes a long-expected invasion? It is demoralizing, disintegrating. But the aftermath sends thousands to the insane asylums and does queer things to those who escape the worst manifestations of strain. Yet nervous exhaustion on a mass scale for several years had cut down strength. With far less cause the people of the United States were swept last summer by hysterical emotions which give them little right to deny aid now to those whose fear was really warranted.

The importance of proper feeding to children is greater, perhaps, even than food-conscious Americans gen-

erally comprehend. London school children in 1938 were about four inches taller and about 3.3 pounds heavier than English elementary school children as a whole. This result was obtained largely by dietetically sound school meals supplemented by cod liver oil. The gain in thirty years had been equivalent to a whole year's growth! Some of the steady nerves in Britain now, which we so justifiably admire, may surely be attributed to this physical condition. If these boys and girls slip back, as it must be feared they will, their fate will be like that of Continental children to whom sustenance is denied by the British authorities themselves. Neither ought to be allowed to happen.

Disease may be as lethal as dive bombers. The Swiss have had to take drastic precautions against the spread of typhus, typhoid, paratyphoid and smallpox from regions already seriously affected in near-by France. But disease will go farther than that. A brilliant bacteriologist told me last June, after extensive research abroad on influenza and the common cold, "I shall have to work, like others, at top speed, if we're to be in time." "In time," I asked, "for what?" "In time for the scourge that will surely strike all Europe next winter or spring. The cycle has run around again. You don't imagine, do you, that it will be kept within the confines of Europe, or that America can escape?"

British air raid shelters, with their "community bedroom" form of living, as some of them have put it, are sources of worry because they favor the spread of contagious and infectious diseases, especially with sleep interrupted and resistance low. But imagine anything like the British experience without enough medicines or food—or with scarcely any at all! Yet all the invaded countries are in precisely this situation. One thing should be clear in all this discussion: that whatever aid in such forms for Britain is needed at any time, ought to be sent with generosity and speed.

A Grisly Progression

Tragic beyond the understanding of those who have not witnessed Europe during wartime is the way in which one need becomes dependent upon others. No fuel, no heat; no heat, no hot water; no hot water, no baths even for babies and invalids except in icy rooms. No gasoline, no cars; no cars, no speedy aid to the sick, no efficient distribution to those half sick. No special foods or care for those who could recover if given half a chance, but who will now die. Small maladies become converted, by such conditions, into dreaded major illnesses.

Mr. Hoover has explained for all save those who do not want to hear that while aid must in some cases be contributed, the typical case is not of European mendicants begging for largesse but refugee governments wishing to buy materials here for cash. What they want is the right, with careful safeguards, to reach their fellow nationals with rescue. In the present state of America's export trade to sell these foodstuffs could hardly injure our economic interests, even if few Americans would like to put the issue on that basis. In the single month of September 1940, our export of foods to Europe was only $15,279,000 instead of the usual $28,693,000. This in spite of a great jump in general exports from $57,877,000 to $87,140,000, chiefly to Canada and Great Britain.

From the military point of view, can Britain afford to risk driving the peoples of western and northern Europe into the arms of Adolf Hitler? That is where those peoples may end up by spring, with a fiery hatred of everything British, American and democratic, if the present shortsightedness prevails. The chance that embittered, battered, weakened, despairing populations, unarmed, will suddenly spring up in rebellion against the nazis, is the longest of long shots. It is based on a pathetically antiquated concept of revolution; for although at one time an overthrow might come in such a way the march of the machine has greatly augmented authority-power in respect to revolutionary power until a modern revolution must be almost as mechanized as an invading *Panzer* division. Rebellion will come, substantially, if it comes at all, when those who have been weak begin to feel new strength from food; when heightened morale can once more stir sluggish minds; when it is clearly felt that the democracies do not desert their friends.

Ill Will for Britain

It is hard for Britons to face the fact that they start, anyway, with a handicap of prejudice among their Continental neighbors. But British travelers rarely put forward the best foot of their country. Arrogance is sometimes the trouble; often it is merely that shyness which is so frequently interpreted as a superiority complex. But whatever the spokesmen of the refugee governments have to say in public now their peoples, though despising nazi methods, feel that they have much for which to forgive the British. Not yet have the masses forgotten the tremendously resented efforts of Mr. Churchill in the early part of the war, as commonly stated by neutral critics then, "to get us embroiled at once, so we will not only run the risk of becoming the battlefield of this war, but will be absolutely sure to."

The people of the invaded lands are no more immune from social and psychological environmental factors than others. The hungrier they get, the more they watch their children swell up and bend out of shape from starvation, the less immune they will become. Today they clear-headedly blame Hitlerism primarily for their sufferings. But the German troops have been ordered to behave with circumspection, while the less visible Gestapo gets in its deadly undercover work. In Norway recently one nazi trooper was executed for theft, so eager are the invaders to make a good outward impression. After a time, as hunger pangs become acute, it will be hard for Belgians, Dutchmen, Poles, Norwegians, Frenchmen not to feel bitter at the British who deny them supervised distribution of necessities and the Americans who connive with the blockade, from thousands of miles away, to goad them into a suicidal revolt.

But this is far from all. British bombs are killing civilians —innocent so far even of ill will—when the bombardiers miss, as sometimes they must, their aim. It is going to take minds singularly disciplined and cool to think past the obvious and decide that British airmen are guiltless while nazi war-plotters are the real assailants. Can any-

one really believe it possible? On this point there is illuminating testimony, for the Dutch government in London has charged that the nazis in Holland, aware of the results of British bombings on Dutch minds, have faked up a few planes to look like British bombers and dropped missiles on certain sections where loyalty to Hitler's emissaries was particularly wanted.

Protesting Voices in England

Fortunately, British leaders of opinion do not all by any means share their government's unrelenting view on the blockade. Many consciences are uneasy in Great Britain; some of those ardently behind the war effort see the stupidity of making more enemies in Europe than now exist. Numerous churchmen have protested against the blockade. H. N. Brailsford, the Labor author, has been waging a vigorous campaign for a change in the blockade tactics. That British opinion will respond to American pressure is indicated by the alacrity with which the blockade was lifted against the sending of medicines into occupied and unoccupied France at the insistence of the Red Cross. I know Dr. Hugh Dalton, the present minister of economic blockade. He is a resolute man who is desperately afraid of the appeasement method as practiced by Chamberlain and others; he is also a man who will gracefully yield when convinced that important elements must be conciliated. We in America are the crux of this issue, and if we want a change we can assuredly win it. Will the forces of good will and reason rally and demand that Hitlerism's victims be saved from becoming equal victims of democracy?

Europe is dotted with ancient castles in which one gruesome feature is the *oubliette*. In French the verb for "forget" is *oublier*. Into the deep walled holes which were the *oubliettes* were thrown prisoners of war or politics whom it was convenient to get rid of, or those needy relatives whose impoverished condition nagged at pleasure, whose misfortunes called up a troublesome specter of duty at every banquet table. When the hatches were sealed down and the cries became too weak to be heard, the ugliness, the stench, the delirium, the decomposition were shut away. If the policy continues that Churchill advocates and Roosevelt so far has supported, and which certain men of God are now backing up with becoming reluctance, the 35,000,000 victims of this conflict, whose bodies might be healed and whose minds be kept responsive to democracy's professions, will be doomed to the largest *oubliette* in history. In the perpetration of this incalculable cruelty we shall not play the role of chief criminal, but we shall be willing accessories to the deed.

The Press and the Election

By Oswald Garrison Villard

SECRETARY ICKES returned to an old mutton with his usual zest in his talk with Washington correspondents two days after the election. He proposed national discussion of the role of the press in the campaign just ended. He brought out the fact that President Roosevelt has been elected three times despite steadily decreasing newspaper support. Only 40 per cent of the country's journals advocated his election in 1932, only 36 per cent in 1936, and only 23 per cent in 1940. To Mr. Ickes this reveals "an unprecedented and progressively perilous situation requiring public consideration." He is "convinced that our democracy needs more than ever before a truly free press that represents no class or economic group and that will rewin the confidence of our citizens because it is worthy of rewinning that confidence."

That the situation is a grave one and calls for most earnest consideration admits of no doubt. But Mr. Ickes has fallen into some errors by assuming that all the press opposition to the President is due solely to class or economic pressure, and by refusing to credit anti-Roosevelt editors with having any patriotic motives or being actuated by principles. His allegations are as usual far too sweeping. For example, the *New York Times* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* although among the richest and most conservative of our newspapers, supported Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, and did not bolt until this year when the third-term issue presented itself. Again, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* went over to Mr. Roosevelt this year after having opposed him bitterly four years ago.

Mr. Ickes also makes no allowance for the position of the southern press, whose boot is on the other foot. Many southern editors supported Mr. Roosevelt who might readily have bolted him had it not been for the fact that 90 per cent of their constituency were going to vote for him. If Mr. Ickes assumes that every newspaper that supported Mr. Roosevelt was free from economic or class pressure he is mistaken. It is not fair to take support of Mr. Roosevelt as the supreme test of newspaper independence and courage when so many liberal journalists throughout the country, former supporters of the New Deal, felt themselves compelled, often unwillingly, to support Mr. Willkie.

Press Has Lost Influence

Nonetheless it is undeniable that the daily press as a whole has lost political influence to an extraordinary degree, that too many editors and owners are influenced by selfish considerations, and that the feelings and desires of the bulk of the electorate have not been adequately represented in the last two or three campaigns. Mr. Ickes is right in saying that the coming of the radio has been a godsend. But this increasing conservatism of the press is not a new situation. The press has been growing away from the people during the whole of my long service in journalism, though it was never really representative of the masses, except in a few cases. Labor, for example,

has repeatedly tried to establish its own organs to report its progress, and it is only in late years that great dailies, like the *Plain Dealer* and the *New York Times,* have appointed labor reporters to record year in and year out, objectively, the news of the labor field, and to interpret its developments sympathetically.

It is not just the so-called radicalism of the New Deal which has driven three-quarters of the press into opposition, though that has played its part. What has happened is that newspapers have more and more become big business enterprises and are profoundly affected by the whole trend of our economic life. It is absurd to assume that being business ventures the newspapers could remain unaffected by the trends toward monopoly, toward chain ownership, toward greater economic and financial units and toward mass production characteristic of the rest of the business world.

Trend toward Monopoly

Thus, the number of daily newspapers has steadily decreased, and the number of cities with only one newspaper, or with only one morning and one evening newspaper, has increased to an alarming degree if one recalls that this is a two-party system of government which calls for the presentation to the electorate of at least two points of view. The trend toward monopoly is an automatic one. It is far less due to the desire of an owner to dominate the thinking of a community than to the fact that many small towns cannot support more than one newspaper because the costs of production have increased so steadily. Year by year new inventions, the enormous increase in the news of the world, the necessity of heavy outlays for circulation costs, the steady rise in wages and paper prices—these things have confronted the publisher with constant growth of expense. I speak with knowledge because I was for twenty-one years the publisher of the *New York Evening Post,* although at that time the newspapers were only on the threshold of their tremendous mechanical development. Actually the entire capitalization of the *New York Evening Post* at that time, $1,000,000, was less than the *New York Times* paid a few years ago for the latest of its wonderful presses.

In other words, the developments which Mr. Ickes deplores were there before the rise of Franklin Roosevelt, and would doubtless be just as serious today if he had never been elected president. This evolution more and more puts the publishers and owners of our dailies into the class of big business executives. Naturally, they drift more and more to the conservative side. It is plainly not a healthy situation when in Connecticut only two newspapers in the state support the claims of a Democratic presidential candidate. This is, however, mitigated by a fact which Mr. Ickes has failed to record, that the newspaper of today gives far more space and attention to printing the views of the opposition party than was the case in the good old days prior to Franklin Roosevelt and much farther back than that.

Unless I gravely err, the newspapers in the bitter Cleveland-Blaine campaign were careful not to print much of anything that the opposition side said. Today the great newspapers print the speeches of both candidates in full. It is a striking fact that both the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* published verbatim Norman Thomas' final address in his campaign for a Socialist administration. This may have been an exception to the rule, but even Mr. Ickes ought to give due credit for what is undoubtedly a greater liberalism in printing unpopular doctrines than was to be found when I entered journalism.

A Publisher's Experience

The evening before this article was written I discussed this whole subject with a fine young publisher of a daily in one of the largest Connecticut manufacturing cities, one of the two Connecticut newspapers which supported Mr. Roosevelt. The town went as overwhelmingly for the President as did the other large manufacturing cities in which only one other newspaper, and that a very inadequate one, presented the Democratic side. This publisher told me that, despite the fact that he alone spoke for the President in his city, his newspaper experienced no increase in circulation or popularity whatever. Nor did he complain that the large business enterprises in his city had tried to bring pressure to bear upon him because of his—with them—unpopular stand.

He was as deeply concerned as Secretary Ickes as to what is happening to the press. He admitted that it is more and more a business enterprise, and an extremely difficult one—he has a staggering payroll to meet every week and keen competition, so that his profits are small. Yet he feels that the profits of newspapers should be severely limited, that something should be done to re-create within the press a sense of moral responsibility toward all elements in the community. Relatively new in the publishing field, though long a journalist, he is shocked to find that publishing is no longer a profession with professional standards. Yet he had practically no suggestions to offer in the face of the economic influences which I have already cited.

Non-Profit Newspapers?

In many years of consideration of this problem I, too, have found no ready remedies. I have long advocated, however, the non-profit-making newspaper which is perhaps what my friend had in mind when he spoke of the possibility of limiting severely newspaper profits. There are two remarkable examples of the non-profit-making newspaper in this country. One is the Jewish *Daily Forward,* and the other is the *Christian Science Monitor.* Since Mr. Frank Gannett, who owns the Gannett chain of newspapers, has announced that he has willed his newspapers to his employees we are assured in the future of a most interesting experiment in cooperative newspaper ownership by the creators of those papers. But even the absence of the necessity for profits would not give the slightest assurance that the editorial management would then be liberal and farsighted.

The editorials in this type of daily could easily be as reactionary as those of the *Chicago Tribune.* The *Monitor* suffers from the fact that it is the organ of a church and therefore cannot have the wide national appeal which it richly deserves because of the purity of its columns and the excellence of its foreign news service. The columns

of the *Daily Forward* are by no means as clean as those of the *Monitor,* and since it is printed in Yiddish it also has a restricted field. Its editor, however, has never been swayed by pecuniary motives, since all the profits are distributed by the Forward Association of fifty men, and go to philanthropies, the labor movement, the suffering Jews overseas, and so forth. Even the salaries paid are nothing like what they might be.

Even if we had had such an elysium as he desires, Harold Ickes might still find 77 per cent of the press opposed to his candidate, or any candidate. As part of the Roosevelt administration he no doubt thinks that it is so nearly perfect as to command a unanimous liberal support. Doubtless he cannot understand that among the 22 millions and more who voted for Mr. Willkie there were liberals as liberal as himself, men and women as patriotic as he, who believed that it was their highest moral duty to vote against Franklin Roosevelt's continuation in the presidency. I have seen every newspaper in New York city, except the Hearst press, lined up against Tammany Hall's majorities in mayoralty elections. Would Mr. Ickes say that the failure of those anti-Tammany newspapers to present the arguments and desires of the Tammany voters and bosses was proof that the press of the metropolis was unfree, fettered, controlled in the interest of reaction?

BOOKS

The Prodigal Comes to Himself

OUR PRODIGAL SON CULTURE. *By Hugh Stevenson Tigner. Willett, Clark & Company, $1.50.*

HERE is a volume that will cause many a man to sing out, "Bring me my bow of burning gold." Tigner of St. Lawrence University, and minister of the Universalist Church in Canton, New York, the seat of his alma mater, will from now on be a name to be reckoned with. He jousts him no jousts reluctantly, but with cheerful gusto launches his lance at the black knights of modernity, and comes out on the side of the white knights of the church, where he worthily belongs. Here is an intellectual tournament right gladly to be witnessed, for it is both a gleeful and a solemn one.

Once Christianity achieved a unity of social structure, effected an intellectual integrity and wielded a moral authority, as when the "mad" priest John Ball could say, "Ah, ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do, till everything be common, and there be no villeins nor gentlemen."

What the church then meant to men was lost by a process of secularization. Christendom is now a "figure of speech," Christianity an "abandoned house, revisited now and then for old remembrance' sake—a sort of souvenir of grandfather's day."

But the lyrical epoch of modernity permitted the treason of roaring capitalism. Business stands out as the very thing which prevents technology from giving us a life of material abundance. Science has got results, but is in itself incompetent to furnish the guides by which those results are humanly to be used. The printing press has lost its halo. Education is stranded in a theoretical vacuum. Our theory that life is made rich through the emancipation of the individual from restraints and obligations and is glorified by personal success has faded like a dead tropical fish. Our nationalism has become the great millstone about our necks. Fascism, the crowning act of defiance, elevates an ideal that modern man had already learned to revere, the nation-state.

The case for religion, then, rests on our need of a devotion that will control life. Shall man live under God, or try to play God? Shall he live by the half-truth of modern culture, the assertion of his own self, or shall he seek such knowledge as faith and religion enjoin? Christianity is a doctrine of the nature of man and of the nature of God—that given reality amid which man lives, on which he depends and to which he is subject.

The devil likes Authoritarianism and Barthianism equally well, for A presumes to know too much and B too little. Democratic government is superior to authoritarian, because it concedes a charity to the partial knowledge of us all.

In such a world "love" is not merely an interior feeling but an objective "structure." The church is the "structure" of love in society. It can be adulterated with insincerities, preserved in the embalming fluid of ritual, and wrapped in the napkin of timidity. Yet its life never completely expires. Here is the "Eternal's House."

Mr. Tigner has begun well. We shall await with interest his further and future elaboration of the "structure" which must be fashioned for a habitable house for modern man, who cannot go back but only forward. This book is a refreshing picture of our prodigal modernism which has wandered far, but is coming to itself and is about to set out for the Father's house.

Yes, "bring me my chariot of fire."

ALFRED W. SWAN.

Books Received

And Still the Waters Run. By Angie Debo. Princeton University Press, $4.00. What has happened to the "Indian territory" which used to be a feature of maps of the United States when the sixty-year-olds of today were conning their school geographies? For the benefit of the younger generation it may be said that it was where Oklahoma is now. Oklahoma, as a white man's territory, got the eastern half of it in 1890, and as a white man's state got the rest in 1906. The "five civilized tribes"—Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole—which had been transported thither when evicted from their lands east of the Mississippi, had been induced to part with most of their holdings for 15 to 30 cents an acre. Miss Debo, herself an Oklahoman of the third generation and a trained historian, tells the sad story with scholarly precision and without sentimental tears, but with full realization of the ruthless way in which a process which perhaps was in itself inevitable was carried out.

Letters of Joseph Conrad to Marguerite Poradowska, 1890-1920. Translated from the French and edited by John A. Gee and Paul J. Sturm. Yale University Press, $2.75. A new volume of Conrad letters, hitherto unpublished, is a literary treasure. Madame Poradowska was a somewhat remote aunt of Conrad and his closest friend over a long period. The greater part of these letters date from the five years beginning with 1890, when Conrad was writing his first novel. The editorial work is done with great care and with a full knowledge of all previously available Conradiana.

What Then Is Christianity? By Charles M. Jacobs. United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia, $1.00. A small posthumous work by the late president of the Lutheran Theological

Seminary at Mt. Airy, Pa., in which post he had succeeded his father, Dr. Henry E. Jacobs. It exhibits a thorough understanding of the course of modern thought, and a firm adherence to the substance of the old faith. By successive steps and in successive chapters there is built up this definition: "Christianity is a life of faith in God—through Jesus Christ—which has as its goal a perfect righteousness—and in which we have salvation."

The Creed of Christ, An Interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. By Gerald Heard. Harpers, $2.00. Mr. Heard's writings on prayer are widely known and appreciated. He here treats the Lord's Prayer as "the seminal nucleus of a true religion." It points to eternity as the seat of ultimate reality, and finds eternity not in remote reaches of time or space but in the Living Now.

Gertrude Bell. By Ronald Bodley and Lorna Hearst. Macmillan, $2.50. Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) made herself one of the greatest Western authorities on Arabia, and on the Near East generally, and became one of the guiding influences in the organization of the kingdom of Iraq. Born and bred in Victorian England, a woman of wealth, social station and beauty, she ignored (rather than defied) the tabus of her time and, while always remaining the very feminine and rather elegant lady, she went forth with an extraordinary courage and resourcefulness to explore the desert places and to make acquaintance with peoples not predisposed to friendliness with Christian visitors. Both in official and in unofficial life, she was a great personality. Her life, here told with competence and charm, is a contribution to the record of archaeological and ethnological research and of political reconstruction in the Near East after the World War.

CORRESPONDENCE

It's in the 'Record'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The article by Charles G. Ross of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* upon which your editorial, "Driving the Propaganda Engine," was based *is* in the *Congressional Record* for September 23, 1940. It was placed there on motion of Senator Bennett Champ Clark. My senator sent me a copy on request.

Athol, Mass. CLARENCE T. AVEY.

War Education in Englewood

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In a newspaper I find the following item: "Dr. Henry Pitney Van Dusen will explain plans of the William Allen White Committee for further aid to Britain at a meeting . . . in the parish house of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. . . . Models of a flying fortress bomber, a pursuit plane and a torpedo boat of the type the committee is urging the government to send to the British . . . are on display in the committee's window. . . . They were prepared by . . . a 14-year-old ninth grade pupil. . . ."

Leonia, N. J. EDITH O. NEWBY.

A Dissenting Report

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: From reading Mrs. Newby's "It Can Be Stopped," one gets two impressions: (1) that the William Allen White Committee is composed of persons who would rush the United States into war and (2) that at a meeting held in Englewood, N. J., Dr. Van Dusen was very much embarrassed by certain questions which were asked from the floor. This is an unfortunate misrepresentation of the facts. (1) Though every organization is apt to have a few members whose enthusiasm outruns their discretion, the William Allen White Committee stands officially only for such aid to Britain as may be given within the present Neutrality Act. (2) Dr. Van Dusen got the point of every question and gave a clear and honest answer. He carefully distinguished between the program of the William Allen White Committee and his own ideas, as St. Paul distinguishes between the "commandment of the Lord" and his personal judgment in I Corinthians 7.

Mrs. Morrow presided with the grace and fairness that befit a leader in education. Mr. Sherwood spoke to us as the able dramatist that he is. Dr. Van Dusen answered questions in the spirit of the calling of the Christian ministry.

Church of the Holy Communion, J. FOSTER SAVIDGE.
Norwood, N. J.

Father Ryan's Position

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am asking for a small amount of space in your journal to make an important correction in the article by Cyril C. Richardson on "Catholics and Religious Tolerance" in your issue of November 6. The writer of the article presents a faithful account of the positions taken by Father Boland and myself in our book *Catholic Principles of Politics* with one very damaging exception. In the last paragraph of the first column on page 1374 he says that the Catholic conscience would be bound to change the federal laws so as to deprive non-Catholics of the constitutional freedom of worship which they now enjoy if Catholics should "ever come to represent *a majority* of the population." Nowhere in the book does that sentence or its equivalent appear.

As the writer of the article observes, the volume quotes the late Father Pohle's statement that "there is good reason to doubt if there still exists a purely Catholic state in the world." When Father Pohle wrote that sentence he was well aware that there existed a large number of states in the world having a majority of Catholics, some of them with very large majorities. And yet he denied to them the standing of "purely Catholic states." I agreed with him, and I still agree with him. Where, then, in our book does Dr. Richardson find justification for attributing to us the opinion that a mere majority of Catholics in a state would be sufficient to justify the proscription of non-Catholics? Of course, he can find no such thought expressed or implied in the volume because we never said it nor have we ever held it. What he can find there (lines 9 to 12 from the bottom of page 319) is that our propositions concerning the lawful denial of full freedom of worship to non-Catholic denominations "have full application only to the completely Catholic state. This means *a political community that is either exclusively or almost exclusively made up of Catholics.*"

In view of this forthright statement, Dr. Richardson's reference to "a majority of the population" is astonishing and inexplicable. However, he is not the first person to utter that misrepresentation. Senator Heflin frequently offended in that way.

Nat'l. Catholic Welfare Conference, JOHN A. RYAN.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Homrighausen Objects

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I must write to correct my friend Dr. Bosley's reference to my palpable "exaggerations" about Easter in his review (November 6) of my latest book. If I am guilty of such "exaggerations," so was the apostle Paul. I will continue to say that without Easter life is a farce and meaningless. Easter is the declaration of God's lordship in Christ over death and the grave. Other religions may have their intimations of immortality, but Christianity is founded upon a fact and not an intimation. To me, as to the Christians in the classic tradition of the Christian faith, Easter is absolute and ultimate. Without it life, even with Socrates and Buddha, would be a rather problematical affair. (Something of the nature of Dr. Bosley's theology is revealed by his grouping of Isaiah and Jesus Christ with Buddha and Socrates! As though the truth of revelation and general knowledge could be neatly fitted into a monistic

scheme!) All life is filled with the element of imminent frustration and uncertainty. What other religion has dared to be so unashamedly joyful in the knowledge of life's eternal significance as has the Christian, which believes in the Easter fact and faith? Life is a farce apart from a living God who is lord of life and death. A culmination of God's generous revelation of himself is what all Christians see in Easter. It is evident that Dr. Bosley does not take the Christian sources seriously enough, nor does he have the age-old Christian concept of the terrible nature of death. . . .

Again, in the flow of the Christian tradition through the centuries, there have been appropriations by Christian theology from contemporary thought and science. But to assume, as Dr. Bosley does, that in such a process theology has or must become altered in its basic assumptions, is hardly tenable. Even now, Christian theology is insisting upon being true to itself because of the danger in recent decades of losing its very existence in the so-called new thought and science. There is no *Christian* theology possible when it has surrendered its historic bases and accepted those of modern philosophy and science. That does not mean that theology must become a hermit. It does mean that Christian theology must recover its true nature, and also seek to come to terms with science and philosophy through systematic thought. To be sure, the Bible's truth is set in history. But there is a core of living truth embedded in the Bible, which is capable of being translated into all ages and cultures. This is the glory of the Christian faith, namely, that it has a living core of personal truth which can become the nucleus of the finest human thought and science. . . .

I also wish to challenge Dr. Bosley's intimation that I put too much emphasis upon sin as a "bogeyman," which I am supposed to use as "a crippled man uses a crutch." Sin is stark reality. Even without the Christian judgment regarding sin which is found in the Bible we would, in the face of modern conditions of life, individual and corporate, be forced to adopt a radical notion of man's predicament and guilt. Let no *Christian* theologian say that sin is a "bogeyman" or a "crutch" and thus minimize the reality about which the Christian faith has always been so concerned! Sin is the real obstruction between God and man, between man and his fellows, and man and his true self. The reality of sin is the foundation of the biblical epic and it is the reason for the cross. Its only remedy was and is the cross for God and man.

We should remember that criticisms directed against *Christian* theology should be made on the basis of the Christian position and not on the basis of modern religious philosophy or science. I wish Dr. Bosley had shown me wherein I am not *Christian!*

And as for my "Barthianism"—that is quite an "exaggeration" on the part of my reviewer.

Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN.

The Right to Propagandize

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have given several readings to your editorial of November 6, "Driving the Propaganda Engine," in order to see whether I could find any justification for your implied charge that there is something shady and reprehensible about the course of White, Miller, Van Dusen and their associates. I can find nothing but good, straightforward American democracy in their efforts. William Allen White thinks that America should be defended by aiding Britain, and forms a committee of reputable citizens with that in view. Is there anything wrong with that? The committee induces President Roosevelt to exchange fifty destroyers for 99-year leases on eight British naval and air bases in the Atlantic and Caribbean. That looks like a good bargain. The committee is now lining up popular support for additional help for Britain. That is admirable.

It is alleged that some prominent men and women believe that our country should declare a state of war exists. Well, it does exist. Personally I am opposed to a declaration of war on our part. It would involve serious inconveniences and disasters, especially to civil liberties. But it is an essential feature of our democracy that those who do not agree with me be offered the opportunity to present their case.

Now this is indeed "the great art of government by propaganda pressure." Years ago I participated in it in order to create a "dry" America. Later, opponents of national prohibition were successful in repealing the eighteenth amendment. I get a vast quantity of mail asking me to write or wire the President and Congress to do this and that, or to refrain from doing certain things. In many instances I comply with the requests.

Pressure groups may produce undesirable results. Perhaps there is a better way of getting things done. But under existing circumstances I consider it the part of good citizenship to let my representatives at Washington know how I feel about things, and to associate myself with others in promoting good causes—or those that I think are good, for I may be mistaken.

I have received considerable material from the White-Miller-Van Dusen groups, but vastly more from pacifist groups representing the opposite point of view. I do not in the least resent being bombarded with all this "literature," and do not throw it into the waste-basket without a reading. I am glad that we have intelligent citizens who are willing and able to give time and money for this "propaganda."

Georgetown, Texas. JOHN C. GRANBERY.

[Our correspondent mistakes the position of The Christian Century. We approve as heartily as does he of the right to agitate in favor of any course of public action, and agree that the White Committee has proceeded in democratic fashion. We still believe it important, however, that our readers should know how a great organization for propaganda purposes comes into existence, how it functions, how its decisions with regard to policy are reached. In this connection, mention should be made of a correction supplied by William Allen White of a statement in the editorial in question. John L. Balderston is no longer employed by the White Committee and therefore no longer prepares its news service to American newspapers.—THE EDITORS.]

Thoughts en Route

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I find among people and among paragraph writers some confusion about the British pacifist movement today. Possibly you might care to give your readers the latest figures so far as the Fellowship of Reconciliation is concerned. During the first year of this war it has lost about 300 members and gained 3,000. During the two and a half years before the war it was increasing all the time, more than doubling its membership in that period. It now numbers 14,000. A small minority, but a determined and a disciplined minority.

I want to thank your Quintus Quiz for his recommendation of Bach. With such a lover of Christ to help and enrich our worship it is strange carelessness that ignores his music and substitutes for it love songs from "Samson and Delilah" and sentimental vulgarisms like "The Rosary" and "In a Convent Garden." I sit shrinking into my chair and trying not to look as wretched as I feel when these inappropriate strains emerge from church organs as an introduction to the address that I want to give in Christ's name.

While I am bothering you with these varied comments of one of your most faithful readers, may I express also my wonder that the article on religious poetry (October 16) did not refer to Evelyn Underhill's two volumes, published by Dent & Company, *Theophanies* and *Immanence*.

National Christian Mission, Oklahoma City (en route). MURIEL LESTER.

Editorial Note

A cablegram from Denzil G. M. Patrick in Geneva, Switzerland, expresses fear lest, by our editorial presentation, the article "Toward a New Order in Europe," in The Christian Century for October 16, be regarded as an expression of the World Council of Churches and not simply of the individuals who took part in the discussion reported. It seems impossible that there could be any misunderstanding on this score, but if there has been, Mr. Patrick's warning will clear it up.

Siam Asks France To Return Land

Patriotic Spirit Develops—Caste Lines Down—Government Tries Socialism —Missions Retain Freedom

(Correspondence from Thailand)

BANGKOK, Oct. 19.—Thailand today presents an interesting study in the growth of patriotic fervor. The change of government from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy in June 1932 was brought about by a few persons acting without the knowledge of the nation as a whole. For seven years after that no special celebration was held on the anniversary of the change, but an intense program of education was carried on in every part of the kingdom to help the people to understand the constitution and to see what the new government was endeavoring to do. The country was still called Siam but the people called themselves *Thai,* meaning "free."

* * *

No Distinctions in New Patriotism

Then in June 1939 a national holiday was celebrated for the first time, overshadowing but not replacing Dec. 10 which marks the anniversary of the promulgation of the permanent constitution. The work of the traveling lecturers and of the broadcasters had been well done and the people responded wholeheartedly in a national spirit not previously evident. Siam became Thailand and the government began issuing a series of proclamations called *Ratani-yom,* calling attention to the duties of every patriotic Thai. For example, there should be no distinctions made because of place of birth or on account of differences in language. North, south, east or west—all are Thai and all should unite in speaking the Thai language. An educational campaign was begun to reduce illiteracy among adults. People are being encouraged to support Thai industry and to help the government promote new business enterprises. In every school the Thai national song is sung each morning while the flag is raised.

* * *

Irredentist Movement To Be Peaceful

Within the memory of many still active in public life, Thailand was considerably bigger than now. Some territory was lost in exchange for gaining freedom from the bonds of extraterritoriality, but some was taken by the pressure method following certain frontier incidents. Many months ago Thailand took steps to obtain from the French government the restoration of the Mekong river as the natural frontier separating Indo-China and Thailand north of Cambodia. This would mean the return of two small areas now a part of French Laos. Nothing came of these representations, but when it became evident that there was danger of another foreign power taking over control of Indo-China, the Thai government took a firmer stand. Difficult as it might seem to have Thai people living under the French flag, it was infinitely worse to consider their transfer to a third country. Therefore the premier's announcement that the recently signed treaty of non-aggression with France would not be ratified until some solution was found to the boundary question, was welcomed with an enthusiasm which has since grown by leaps and bounds.

* * *

Newspapers Call for Use of Force

Only a month has passed since that time, but Bangkok has seen many patriotic demonstrations. They usually consist of a march through the principal streets and an address to the premier. The great majority have been students, but often hundreds of onlookers join. While the government has not discouraged these demonstrations, it has insisted upon strict order and has issued several proclamations calling for patience and calm. The premier has stated that only peaceful means will be used to obtain the territory. Some newspapers are calling for the use of force, but the government is making a real effort to avoid bloodshed. The frontier is strongly guarded and every endeavor is being made to prevent the occurrence of "incidents" which might lead to open warfare. Since the French native troops are either of Thai blood or of races more sympathetic to the Thai than to the French, it seems unlikely that fighting will actually take place. Interestingly enough, the French Catholic Mission in Thailand has sent a message to the French government urging the return of the land requested.

* * *

Socialist Experiments Being Tried

The Thai government has gone into many forms of business in the past few years, in addition to the control of the railroad which has been state-owned from the beginning. It has a sugar mill and a paper factory. There are many government cooperative stores. The Thai Maritime Navigation Company was recently organized and three ships (two are former American vessels) are now carrying rice to South and Central American ports, returning with oil from New Orleans. After passing several laws for the control of the oil business, the government obtained a monopoly when Socony-Vacuum and Asiatic Petroleum declined to continue here. A huge port is being developed.

* * *

Religious Freedom Still Holds

The various Christian bodies—American Presbyterian Mission, National Christian Council, Y.M.C.A. and others—are carrying on as usual. Thailand has so far maintained its ideal of religious freedom. When every school was required to have a religious service on National Day, June 24, it was specified in the order from the ministry of public instruction that it might be held according to the religion observed in each school so long as the premier's message was read to the students.

EDWARD MOWBRAY TATE.

National Mission Stirs Twin Cities

Faces Controversial Issues with Daring —Keller Warns of European Poverty —Labor Welcomes Religion

(Correspondence from Minnesota)

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 6.—The National Christian Mission, coming to Minneapolis the same week in which the youth of the nation registered for military service, made a profound impression upon the tens of thousands who attended the 250 conferences and meetings. The speakers faced all issues, probed deeply and left the people of the city with renewed vision and zeal. E. Stanley Jones and Muriel Lester addressed capacity audiences at whatever time of day or in whatever section of the city they appeared. Both speakers came to grips with the most dangerous and difficult problems. There was a courage and a realism in the team's approach to its message far exceeding that of any other religious crusade ever held in this area.

* * *

Total Faith or Dictatorship?

While there were some sessions that were not crowded, practically every audience felt that it was getting the genuine article and not some palatable substitute. "Unless the people of America," declared Stanley Jones, "discipline themselves to complete obedience to the demands of the Kingdom of God as embodied in Jesus Christ, they will go down to defeat before the totalitarian systems so powerful in the world today. We have not rejected the gospel," he continued, "we have only trimmed it down." He called for a totalitarianism in religion strong enough to match the totalitarianism of the state. Literally hundreds remained after his addresses to hear him describe the steps any Christian must take if he would adopt the disciplined life.

* * *

Miss Lester Stirs Youth In Mass Meeting

The mission opened with a youth mass meeting at which Muriel Lester challenged 1,500 young people to follow the Christian way of life at whatever cost. At the close of her presentation she invited "all who promised to take a forward step in Christian living" to repeat with her softly and reverently the Lord's prayer. All who were there had an unforgettable experience. William Carrington, Negro preacher from Brooklyn, spoke winsomely at the same meeting. Miss Lester, throughout the week, urged Bible study, meditation and prayer as indispensable disciplines for personal living. But she pressed with equal zeal the social implications of the gospel and particularly insisted that we must not let Europe starve.

* * *

Keller Says Europe is Impoverished

Adolf Keller arrived on the Atlantic

Clipper just in time for the mission. He brought a vivid picture of the suffering in Europe. "Three dangers face the Christians of Europe," said he. The first, he declared, is "impoverishment," which means not only acute physical suffering but a blow to religious faith as well. The second, he indicated, is "oppression and persecution." The third is "the temptation to Christians of compromising with the ideologies of the modern state."

* * *

Barnes Urges Unity Of Christians

Roswell Barnes of the Federal Council of Churches saw Christianity as the one hope of holding the world together. Mark Dawber and Worth Tippy pleaded for the underprivileged. "No nation," Dr. Dawber charged, "that has oppressed its rural population has ever survived." The future of our nation, he insisted, depends upon what it does now for those who are being exploited or oppressed. "The unemployed and millions of employed whose incomes are too low for wholesome living," Dr. Tippy asserted, "are a reproach and a danger to a great and strong nation." "There is not a mattress on any bed in any cell in your city jail," James Holmes, who spent the week visiting prisons and rescue mission, told the newspapers of the city. "Change this situation," he admonished the churches, "for when you brutalize a man you make a brute out of him."

* * *

Mission Welcomed by Laboring People

The business agents of Minneapolis labor unions endorsed the mission officially through the efforts of Morris C. Robinson, chairman of the local mission committee on labor. Martin H. Bickham was kept busy all week filling appointments that had been made for addresses to labor groups. The unique feature of this mission was that it reached far more people in the unreached realms than is usually the case. The mission was also distinctive in the remarkable balance of its emphases and its bold facing of controversial problems. Its timeliest emphasis, however, was upon the need for Christians' holding together. Minneapolitans were keenly aware during the days of the mission of the tensions occasioned by the peacetime registration for conscription.

* * *

And So Forth

The best attended seminars were those of Roswell Barnes and Adolf Keller on world relations, of J. Hudson Ballard on religion and mental health, and of the inimitable A. C. Wehrli on Bible study. Valiant contributions were made to the success of the mission by Oscar Blackwelder, Paul Scherer, Warren Bowman, John Casteel, James S. Chubb, Conrad Bergendoff, William Carrington, George W. Richards, Seth Slaughter, Frank Sladen, H. W. Virgin, Edna H. Sardeson and Phillips Osgood. The administrative energies of Jesse M. Bader amazed everybody. David N. Beach was local chairman and C. Franklin Ward executive secretary. The follow-up campaign of visitation evangelism is now in progress under the leadership of Guy Black. It is safe to predict that the influence of this campaign will be felt for a long time to come.

G. Merrill Lenox.

Dying Sect Holds Communist Creed

Shaker Remnant Maintains Communal Farms—State Profiteers on Gambling—Weekday Schools Expand Rapidly

(Correspondence from Eastern New York)

Albany, Nov. 6.—What was once a significant group of Christian communists living near Albany still exists in remnant near here. The Shakers, who got their name from their peculiar religious motions, are now reduced to twelve aged women and one man living on their extensive estate at Lebanon, near the Massachusetts border. The last two women on the Niskayuna farm removed to Lebanon in 1938. It is reported that the colony at Alfred, Maine, is soon to be merged with the Canterbury, N. H., family. Thus the "United Society of Believers in Christ's Appearing," or Shakers, once numbering 5,000 men and women in 18 colonies, will soon come to an end.

* * *

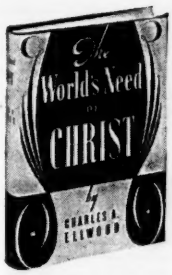
Took Sermon on Mount Literally

The society originated in Manchester, Eng., and was brought to America in 1775 by a remarkable woman known as Mother Ann Lee. Believed by her cult to represent the female element in the divine nature, as Christ represented the male element, Mother Lee gave an amazing consistency and strength to these believers in the second coming of Christ. The Shakers accepted the Sermon on the Mount as their final authority and were distinguished by their practice of strict celibacy, by their communism of property and all economic life, by their pacifism and by their ascetic separation from the world in self-supporting colonies. Their only accessions came from converts and from young orphans whom they adopted and reared in their peculiar notions. Each orphan was free at 21 to go "into the world" or to remain, but once made, the choice was final. Since 1900 there have been few adoptions and almost no converts. Moreover, the recent Shakers haven't been so much interested in keeping up the religious traditions, although they have maintained their communistic life. They seem to have been generally respected and patronized for their farm products, for hundreds of various kinds of hand-made articles and more recently for Shaker antiques.

* * *

Great Farms Still Maintained

The writer visited the Niskayuna and Lebanon farms recently and was impressed by the evidence of thrift and sincerity on the part of the remaining Shakers. One of the four farms, formerly owned by the Shakers in Niskayuna, is still in their possession: 450 acres of good farm land, large brick and frame buildings in excellent condition. It is for sale, the caretaker said. On the site of the principal or church colony there now stands the magnificent Albany county home for the poor, the Ann Lee Home. In the near-by cemetery hundreds of gravestones, exactly alike, give the impression of "equal in death as well



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as in life." Mother Lee's marker is distinguished from the others by being about six inches taller. The women still dress in heavy pleated gray dresses with a rice straw bonnet for summer and heavy gray cape and hood for winter.

* * *

Hundreds of Weekday Schools Planned

The demand for weekday religious education in this state is keeping the state council of churches and all of its leaders very busy. T. Basil Young, educational secretary for the council, says that practically every community in the state seems to be planning to start and maintain weekday religious schools. Hugh Williams has completed a survey of the present weekday schools for the state council. His figures are interesting. Of the 193 communities where such programs are now being carried on under Protestant auspices, 58 per cent are interdenominational and 42 per cent denominational; 48 per cent are held in public school buildings, 43 per cent in church buildings and the rest in other buildings, such as libraries and community halls. During 1939-40, 27 per cent of the total of 193 communities began this work for the first time. Only 46 communities reported programs for high school students, 14 of which were getting state regents' credit. Of 115 communities giving information on finances, 58 per cent were costing less than 50 cents per pupil, 17 per cent from 50 cents to $1, and only 8 per cent more than $1, leaving 17 per cent with insufficient data.

* * *

Average Racetrack Bets $50 Per Day

The state has just reported the results of the first year's experiment with legalized pari-mutuel betting. A total of $103,159,429 was wagered at the various racetracks during the past seven months. This is more than one-third of all the bets placed in 17 states. The betting public at the tracks numbered 2,034,946 with an average bet of $50.60 per day. The total "take" for the state of New York was $5,362,942.15. Already plans are being made for a great expansion of racetrack facilities for 1941. Evidently we are in for an orgy of gambling that will beat all 1940 records. One wonders now just what losses legitimate business is suffering and what additional sag in morals young people are having, in order that the state may make money on racetrack gambling. To the credit of the state it must be said that some effort has been expended to drive out the illegal gambler and the notorious horse rooms in cities and towns at a distance from any racetrack. The legislature has a committee studying the uses and abuses of the present law.

* * *

Community Chest Is Short, Aid to Britain Thrives

The Albany community chest drive for $340,000 closed the regular campaign period Oct. 31 just short of the goal and supplementary efforts are being made to realize the total amount, as the general chairman, Winthrop Stevens, says that every dollar is needed this year. The Bundles for Britain campaign is in full swing under the general chairmanship of Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, wife of the governor. Thousands of bundles have been sent since Sept. 18. Albany sent to Britain a completely equipped ambulance and $200 in surgical supplies. Russell Sage College at Troy sent another ambulance recently.

* * *

And So Forth

Two new ministers are coming to Albany: A. D. Parker of Portland, Maine, to the First Methodist Church in succession to Fred M. Hagadorn, who has removed to St. Johnsbury, Vt., and Stanley E. Chedister of Maplegrove, N. J., the new minister at Second Congregational-Christian Church.

GEORGE L. CUTTON.

Y.W.C.A. Office at Washington

The International Y.W.C.A. has recently opened a temporary office in Washington, D. C., not the Y.M.C.A., as stated in a recent news item in these columns. International offices of the Y. W. have been at Geneva, Switzerland, and are expected to return there after the war.

A Business Man's Vision of Justice

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By MARY FELS

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Canadian Church Upholds Workers

United Church Statement Endorses Labor's Rights—Adopts New Statement of Faith—Jews Aid War Effort

(Correspondence from Eastern Canada)

TORONTO, Nov. 3.—The ninth General Council of the United Church of Canada endorsed an important statement prepared by the Board of Evangelism and Social Service which dealt with "industrial organization and collective bargaining." The introduction to the statement has considerable historic interest. It summarizes the most important epochs in the British and Canadian labor movements. It lists the five main federal organizations in the dominion, some of which are international and some national, and one of which is directed by the Roman Catholic Church. It indicates the legal status of such unions with particular reference to wartime conditions, and sets forth four principles to be followed by the minister in an industrial community which may be divided by a strike or lockout into two warring groups.

* * *

American Law or British Custom?

Americans will be particularly interested in the comparison made between the labor movement in the United States and in the United Kingdom. In the former, the statement points out, "reliance has been placed upon legislation, i.e., the Wagner Act, to stabilize relations . . . whereas in Great Britain the principle of collective bargaining had a slow but sure growth, more by education than by legislation, and now rests firmly upon custom." While the main position of the United Church in regard to collective bargaining is clear and unequivocal, the report states that "the church should do her utmost to oppose any unlawful development such as the American racketeering units which have sabotaged American labor."

* * *

United Church Adopts New Statement of Faith

The same General Council also authorized the approval of a new statement of the faith of the church, without in any way replacing the doctrinal statement contained in the basis of union. It tries now to set out briefly (five pages!) and simply the substance of that faith. The temper is affirmative rather than apologetic and liturgical. Despite its length, it might well be used occasionally in a service of worship as responses between minister and people, although a musical setting for the responses might be somewhat difficult. The statement might also be made the basis of teaching in classes preparatory to church membership. The language is unobjectionable, but while one reads with general assent it elicits no particular impulse to recite it with drawn swords or even with tears in one's eyes.

* * *

Canadian Jews Aid War Effort

A report has just been issued by the "War Efforts Committee" of the central

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division of the Canadian Jewish Congress. It indicates something of the wide scope of work undertaken by Canadian Jewry in their patriotic effort to assist the government in the prosecution of the war. The committee was able to assist Jews desirous of enlisting voluntarily in those arms of the service where they would be most useful and most used, in providing social contacts and hospitality for Jewish enlisted men, and in promoting full Jewish participation in a large number of special national enterprises connected with the war. The woman's auxiliary has rendered a phenomenal service in providing furnishings for the recreation centers in the second military district. Pianos, radios, cigarettes, easy chairs, games and comforts of all kinds have been dispatched where they will be most useful. In this one district alone the auxiliary has furnished 100 radios. Canadian Jewry represents only 1.6 per cent of the population, but they are working devotedly for their king and country. This patriotic devotion does not outstrip that of other religious groups, but it is bound to make a profoundly favorable impression on public opinion.

* * *

Dr. Laird Dies In Toronto

Dr. Robert Laird died in Toronto recently in his 70th year, following an illness of several months. He had been treasurer of the United Church since union, and prior to union treasurer of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Dr. Laird was an "islander"—as those who hail from Prince Edward Island are called throughout Canada. A graduate of Queen's University, Kingston, honored by his alma mater with the degrees of D.D. and LL.D., he served for six years on its staff as professor of practical theology. Dr. Laird was one of the best known figures in Canadian church life. During ten of the fifteen years of his treasurership the dominion was in the slough of the depression from which war has rescued it, and with falling revenues and precarious investments his financial responsibility was extremely heavy. One could never say of Dr. Laird what Renan said of Judas Iscariot, that "the treasurer outran the apostle." A few years ago he visited the mission fields of the church and his reports of what he saw breathed the true apostolic spirit.

CLARIS E. SILCOX.

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Victory Will End Slums, Says Bevin

Cabinet Labor Leader Promises Peace Gains—Many Churches Destroyed—Blockade Aim is Munitions

(Correspondence from London)

LONDON, Oct. 27.—It is important not to forget Mr. Ernest Bevin. He said in a recent speech at Bristol that he never expected to be where he is, in a war cabinet along with Mr. Churchill, a formidable foe and also a good companion. But he is determined to make it clear beyond doubt that he has not abandoned the aims for which he fought as a trades union leader. On the contrary, he takes this titanic struggle as an opportunity to sweep away the evils which have rested upon the poor of our nation. Victory will give an occasion to do away with privilege and to banish forever from our land slums and unemployment.

Nor does Mr. Bevin see the social problem as a British concern only; social evils can be overcome only by the concerted action of the nations. The Germans had boasted that they would build a new Europe. It is not enough to say, "You shall not." More will be demanded of us than a mere negative. Nor could this vast concern be left to a ministry of reconstruction; it is much too big for that. No man has more evidently put all his powers into this warfare than has Mr. Bevin. His clarion voice has had great influence in these critical months. He is heard with the respect due to a statesman and a born leader; when he says that British labor will not be content to be regarded as a well fed pig, he is taken seriously. Therefore Americans in their reckoning of the personalities in Britain today must not forget Ernest Bevin.

* * *

Prominent Civilians Killed by Bombs

So far as the blitzkrieg is concerned, there is no change to report in the air warfare. Every week brings its toll of noble buildings damaged or wrecked. News was given to us during the week that the Middle Temple Hall suffered grave damage during a recent night air raid. This was the hall in which "Twelfth Night" was first produced in 1601.

There are added each week the names of certain victims of "enemy action" who have won a place of honor in the life of the nation. That admirable man of letters, Mr. Beresford, who recovered and edited *Parson Woodforde's Diaries,* was killed last week; and from today's paper I see that the death of Dr. Kate Platt was also due to enemy action. She will be remembered in India for splendid service, particularly as head of the Hardinge College for Women at New Delhi.

Perhaps if any general estimate may be given of the bearing of our people, it is that they have steeled themselves to this hard trial and whatever may come. There is a surprising stoicism everywhere.

* * *

Churches Suffer Heavy Damage

It is still too early to tabulate the losses

which the blitzkrieg has caused to church buildings, but some indication may be found in the report of the Bishop of London: 32 churches in his diocese had been destroyed or rendered unusable; 47 had been seriously damaged and many more less seriously damaged. This is true of the Church of England. Other communions would have reports of like losses. It is important to remember that though there have been many losses outside London, the extent is nothing like so large anywhere else.

* * *

Blockade Hits Munitions, Says Writer

There can be no better discussion of the blockade policy than in the little book by R. W. B. Clarke, *The Economic Effort of the War*. Mr. Clarke is an expert on the economic and industrial situation in Europe. His analysis cannot be summed up in a note; it is itself a summary. But there are some of his contentions that can be named. By itself, he says, a long-term plan of building vast land armies and air armadas could end only in stalemate, and stalemate is tantamount to nazi victory. With that in mind he describes and evaluates another weapon—the attack on the enemy's war supplies from the air and through the blockade.

* * *

Food Blockade Is Futile

"Europe is relatively poorly endowed with natural resources," says Mr. Clarke. Excluding Britain, Eire, Turkey and the Soviet Union, it has a net surplus of $2,500,000,000 a year in raw and semi-manufactured materials. There is also a net annual import of food and fodder amounting to $550,000,000. Of oil Europe produces some 11,000,000 tons, of which 6,500,000 come from Rumania. But the most serious lack is that of material needed for airplanes and armored vehicles. "In the alloy metals — nickel, chrome, cobalt, tungsten and molybdenum—the Continent is extremely weak," declares Mr. Clarke. "Food gets most publicity, but actually Europe's food deficiencies are much less spectacular than those of raw materials. The Continent can certainly feed itself, although on an unattractive and monotonous diet." He quotes German statisticians, whose calculations are based on calories, as saying that the Continent is 91 per cent self-sufficient.

* * *

And So Forth

"Summer time" is to be prolonged through the winter. There are in the winter months about eight hours of daylight. It is thought that a better use will be made of that light if we do not put our clocks back in the autumn.

The life of Parliament is to be prolonged and the general election which would soon become due will be postponed.

Part of the basement of Friends' House is now used as a public air-raid shelter. At 7 p.m. the attendants make up their beds, and then settle down to read, knit and play games. It is reported in the *Friend* that "darts" is the favorite game.

Canon V. F. Storr, rector of St. Margaret's and sub-dean of Westminster, died last week. He was an admirable preacher and scholar who won particular attention for his work in the philosophy of religion.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Boston Ministers Object to Draft

Risk Prison to Maintain Objection—Two States Debate Birth Control—Rabbi Defines New Frontier

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, Nov. 2.—Two Boston clergymen, Harry H. Kruener, pastor of the First Baptist Church, and Keith C. Kanaga, assistant pastor of the Mt. Vernon Congregational Church, on Oct. 16 raised the issue of the Christian conscience and the state by refusal to register for the draft. They later registered, not because they had changed their minds, but because they found that they could make their protest thereby more effective. Mr. Kruener said: "My conviction is still firm that it is against the will of God for this nation to adopt conscription and that the slow strangulation of our democratic institutions, and particularly of the church, is the inevitable outcome." Mr. Kanaga said: "I am willing to take the five years in prison, but I certainly cannot place myself under the system which has created wars."

* * *

Church-State Issue Outlined By Yale Professors

These cases give significance to the recent discussion of the whole subject in *Social Action*, organ of the Congregational Churches. Citing the Declaration of Independence, the authors, Robert L. Calhoun and Roland H. Bainton, say that "democracy insists that the state is made for man, not man for the state." The very efforts of totalitarian rulers to control education and religion imply recognition of the importance of "inner springs of behavior which cannot be directly controlled by force." In the church three views have prevailed. The pacifist holds that evil is to be overcome by the active power of love. The Catholic position is that the Christian may participate only in a war against injustice. The Lutheran view is that the Christian belongs to two orders, the order of grace and the order of nature, the church and the state. In the latter, he must participate in war when ordered by the ruler, who must decide whether the war is just. A fourth view differs in its emphasis on the individual, holding that he shares responsibility for decision. "This is the position dramatized by Douglas C. Macintosh, in line with the traditions of his own Baptist and Congregational churches." The authors think that Catholic moralists are being carried, in practice, toward denial that modern total war can be just. They helpfully discuss the legal problems of pacifist or non-pacifist objectors.

* * *

Two States Debate Birth Control

Some issues are not decided by party victories. Petitions are being circulated to forbid the sale of liquor on Sunday; to make illegal pari-mutuel betting; and, in both Connecticut and Massachusetts, to permit physicians to "furnish information on birth control for the health and well-being of married patients." Leading physicians back the Massachusetts Mothers'

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Willett, Clark

Health Council and the Connecticut committee. Laws passed 60 years ago against "obscenity" have recently been enforced so as to close clinics and make criminals of those who practice or prescribe contraception. Yet neither state is backward in social legislation. Connecticut has a sterilization law, and permits a physician to interrupt pregnancy after consultation with another. But it is not legal to prevent pregnancy, no matter what may be the patient's condition. In sustaining the law, the supreme court did not rule on the question whether it is in the best interests of the people, but added that change must rest with the general assembly.

The state councils of churches are assisting in bringing the question before the people, and denominational bodies and the Federal Council are cited as approving the measure. Its advocates cite pathetic cases to show the need. Opponents, like Chester A. Dolan, state senator, say: "Again the exponents of that vile and repulsive practice have raised their voices. Such a proposal is contrary to the law of God and would result in moral degeneration." The Health Council rejoins: "We are glad that the papers have given prominence to Senator Dolan's attack. The more often distinguished proponents of medical freedom are attacked in such terms, the more ready the majority of voters will be to end the legal interferences which set Massachusetts apart from all other states except Connecticut."

* * *

Frontier is Personality, Says Rabbi

Speaking on "Ethics for Us Moderns" Beryl D. Cohon, rabbi of Temple Sinai, recently said: "We are like men who have been disputing which clock told the true time, on whose street a bomb has fallen. While other millions say, 'I have no conscience but the führer,' we must rebuild morality on four truths: 1. The sacredness of human personality. 2. Its freedom and responsibility. 3. The unity of mankind against all race claims. 4. The two-way nature of the contract between individual and society."

E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

Witnesses Accept Flag Salute Compromise

After taking a modified oath of allegiance, which omitted the word "flag," 19 children of Jehovah's Witnesses have been readmitted to school in Pontiac, Mich. Probate Judge Arthur E. Moore warned parents that if they would not accept "the very gracious ruling of the school board and train the children better in Americanism, it will be the obligation of the court to take the children out of the homes long enough to give them environment and training to understand what Americanism is."

Ditzler Goes To Los Angeles

Harold E. Ditzler, minister of St. Luke's Reformed Church, Lock Haven, Pa., has accepted an invitation to become pastor of the First Reformed Church, Los Angeles.

Rabbi Teaches Bible To Protestants

The United Church in Raleigh, N. C., is offering a special course in Bible study under the instruction of Rabbi Avery Grossfield of the local Temple Beth-el.

Friends Colleges Greet New Heads

Haverford and Swarthmore Install New Presidents—Quakers Help Refugees—Church Attendance Grows

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4.—Haverford and Swarthmore, the two Quaker colleges which have been called "the Oxford of America," have formally inaugurated their new presidents: Felix Morley at Haverford, John W. Nason at Swarthmore. Both are young graduates of small colleges: Morley, 45, of Haverford; Nason, 35, of Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. Rhodes scholars both, each has a culturally rich international background. Morley was a secretary at Geneva, Switzerland, of the League of Nations Association and later editor of the *Washington Post*. Nason was a graduate student at Yale Divinity School and a teacher of philosophy at Harvard, and had been assistant to his Swarthmore predecessor, President Frank Aydelotte. Both pledged themselves to maintain the high spiritual traditions of their respective schools. President Morley called them "the intangible values." "Swarthmore," said President Nason, "has become more than a Quaker institution without becoming less." Dr. Aydelotte dubbed Quakerism "the most daring experiment in democracy known to history."

* * *

Educators Stress Character In Learning Process

President Morley in his inaugural address warned that colleges must evidence their activities as "work of national importance." With Isaiah's prophecies of terror fulfilled, he urged the cryptic exhortation of the prophet: "Be strong, fear not; behold your God will come with vengeance; with the recompense of God he will come and save you." "College," he said, "should place more emphasis on doing good and less on merely being good." President Nason insisted that colleges should face reality, offer disciplined intelligence and develop Christian character. He scored the overemphasis on the critical mind, which fails to help in the conflict between the pure in heart and the world of Caesar. Lamenting that Christian character development has been so easily degraded into conventionalized window dressing, he stressed the fact that "character cannot be taught in lectures." "It comes not from preaching," he said, "but from example."

* * *

Help Many Refugees in Canada and France

Friends, Mennonites and Brethren are supporting a service for camp prisoners of war in Canada. These peace churches are particularly concerned with refugees from England, many of whom had visas of admittance to the United States. Books and recreational materials are sorely needed, especially German scientific, technical and professional volumes. They should be sent to the American Friends Service Committee, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia.

The Quaker storehouse here has nearly ten tons of clothing, baled and ready for

shipment to France. In a New York warehouse are $20,000 worth of coats, dresses, layettes, lumberjackets, sweaters, trousers and shoes. Yet all this is inadequate for the eight to ten million refugees in southern France and those in other lands, victims now of war's destitution and soon of winter's cold. Groups for sewing and mending have been organized in all parts of the country and in several denominations. Every Wednesday evening, when many others are gathered for prayer, telephone operators come and sew in the 20th street meetinghouse in New York.

* * *

Sesquicentennial Fund Completes Drive

The sesquicentennial fund four-year campaign for $10,000,000, under the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education and the secretaryship of Lewis S. Mudge, came to a gratifying climax on Oct. 20, when over 5,000 churches took a special offering for this work in 53 Presbyterian colleges, 52 Westminster foundations and 11 theological seminaries. The 180,000 Presbyterian young people in these institutions represent six per cent of the "strategic million" American youth in training for tomorrow's leadership.

* * *

Worship Crusade Aids Church Attendance

Under the leadership of Arthur B. Strickland, the worship crusade, sponsored by the federation of churches, in preparation for the National Christian Mission, has already registered gratifying gains in church attendance. In 50 representative churches on one Sunday attendance was increased 30 to 35 per cent. Despite unseasonably stormy weather on another, the advance marked 17 per cent. Pastors in Germantown, Mt. Airy and Chestnut Hill are preaching each Sunday morning on the same topics: the God we worship, the Christ we believe in, the Spirit we live by, the prayer we offer, the commission we obey, the Bible we read, the church we build. The National Christian Mission reaches Philadelphia in January.

* * *

And So Forth

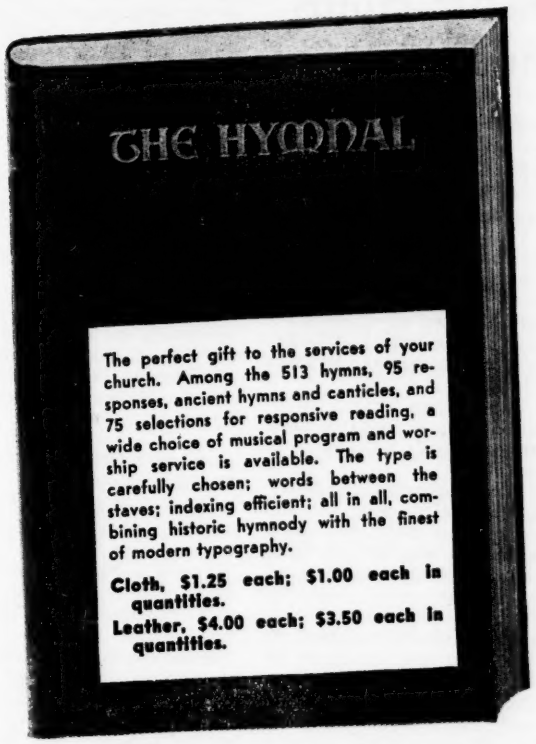
H. D. Hummer, Methodist pastor at Bordentown, N. J., has been named professor of homiletics and practical theology at Temple University school of theology, succeeding Thomas S. Brock, who at the recent session of the New Jersey Methodist conference was transferred to Calvary Church, Lake Worth, Fla.

In 139 communities, according to the Pennsylvania council of churches, Sunday motion picture contests will be held on election day. In some places church youth groups have conducted extensive telephone campaigns in opposition.

The First Baptist Church tendered Ivan Murray Rose a banquet in honor of his 15 years as pastor, with tributes by W. S. Abernethy of Washington and three former assistants: Paul Humphreys of Highstown, N. J., Eugene M. Austin of Tioga Church and Leon Robison, Jr., of Woodstown, N. J.

Old Middletown Presbyterian Church, Elwyn, Pa., recently celebrated its 225th anniversary, with John Gross of Lansdowne and E. A. E. Palmquist of the federation of churches as speakers.

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD.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Fellowship Holds War Is Still Sin

Armistice Appeal Urges Churches Work For Peace and Reconstruction—Evangelistic Effort Launched

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Nov. 11.—This is Armistice Day. Yet it has been a holiday filled with mixed emotions this year. The feeling of a "victory lost" pervaded all thinking circles in the city. The Fellowship of Reconciliation sent out a searching Armistice Day appeal which read in part:

"Armistice Day—November 11, 1918—day of the silenced guns, of arms laid down, of the multitudes joyously welcoming the dawn of peace.

"Armistice Day—November 11, 1940—day which has lost all meaning and will pass unnoticed by those multitudes caught in a war which none among them wants and from which none expects any good.

"For the rulers of the nations, reminder of an unfinished task, of a war which cost $400,000,000,000 of wealth fashioned by human toil and sweat and 30,000,000 human lives, but which did not reach a 'decisive conclusion' and which they say must therefore be resumed and brought to that 'decisive conclusion.'

* * *

Churches Have an Unfinished Task

"For the churches and the Christian people of America, Armistice Day 1940 is surely also a day of reminder of an unfinished task. . . .

"There was to be no more war. Nations solemnly renounced war as an instrument of policy. The last war had been a crowning demonstration of the futility, the absurdity, the diabolism of war. . . .

"Far beyond our deserts, God has blessed our preaching of peace. Far beyond our timorous hopes, perhaps, the people have responded. A revolution has occurred in their attitude toward war. It has lost all glamor and fascination for them. . . .

"There is still time for this nation led by such a church to call for an armistice on Armistice Days, to proclaim to all mankind that war is sin and suicide, to offer to use for the economic rehabilitation of Europe and Asia the money it would otherwise squander on war preparation and war, and to take its full share of responsibility for the building of an orderly world. . . .

* * *

Millions Wait for Church to Lead

"There is a vast latent desire for peace in the hearts of millions of Americans and hundreds of millions in other lands waiting to respond to such leadership by the Christian church and by a Christian nation," the statement concluded.

On Armistice Sunday afternoon a special vesper service was held in the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, and sponsored by the peace commission of the federation of churches. The subject was "The Outlook for Peace" and the speakers were Paul D. Shafer, president of the Packer Collegiate Institute; Harry W. Laidler, Socialist member of the city council; and John Paul Jones, chairman of the International Justice and Goodwill Commission. Phillips P. Elliott, the pastor, presided. Other special services were held in churches and synagogues throughout the city.

* * *

Post-Election Pleas For National Unity

The reaction after the election was most salutary. The heat and bitterness of the pre-election days disappeared over night. The "United America Rally" held Wednesday at Carnegie Hall, Manhattan, and attended by over 3,000 people, was evidence of this immediate willingness to bury all differences and to work for national defense and continued aid to Britain short of war. The speakers included Willkie and Roosevelt supporters and capital and labor leaders.

* * *

Federation Organizes Woman's Division

A woman's division of the Greater New York federation of churches has been formed as a result of a report of the "Council of Nine"—Protestant women who have been exploring the possibilities of such an organization. The new activities will include work among refugees and migrant workers, interfaith and interracial cooperation and volunteer work with social agencies. Mrs. Aura E. Severinghaus of Christ Methodist Church, Manhattan, was elected president and Miss Edith F. McCully executive secretary.

* * *

Churches Organize New Evangelistic Effort

On Wednesday evening a new plan for church evangelism was instituted by the committee of the Greater New York federation of churches. About 100 pastors are cooperating in a series of midweek meetings and other special services. The vice-chairman of the committee, John S. Bonnell, pastor of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, said: "Our goal is the deepening of the spiritual life of our churches and of the city as well"; and he declared, "The forming of additional prayer groups is one of our basic needs."

* * *

And So Forth

The Broadway Temple Methodist Church announced last week that Allen E. Claxton, pastor of the Trinity Union Methodist Church of Providence, R. I., had accepted a call to assume the Temple pastorate left vacant by the death last July 18 of Christian F. Reisner.

The trial of the young men who refused to register in the draft was postponed twice last week at the request of prosecuting counsel and the action is now set for this week.

The Swedenborgian Church of the Neighbor, Brooklyn, facing the fact that a large proportion of its members live at considerable distance from the church, is planning a series of neighborhood evening meetings.

The 47th annual convention of the Brooklyn Christian Endeavor Union was held on Friday and Saturday, Nov. 8, 9, in the Bedford Presbyterian Church. The speaker on Friday evening was David S. Sheldon of Caledonia, N. Y., and on Saturday Harry Rimmer of Duluth, Minn.

The Actors Equity Association opened the way for Sunday shows by voting last week to accept normal pay for Sunday acting. The actors had formerly charged producers two-eighths of a week's pay for one Sunday's performance.

Samuel Trexler, president of the United Lutheran Synod of New York, was elected Thursday as president of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America for the next two years. He succeeds George A. Greiss of Allentown, Pa. Dr. Trexler will remain as head of the New York Synod.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Carolina Methodists Uphold C.O.'s

The Western North Carolina conference of the Methodist Church, at its annual conference in High Point, adopted a resolution instructing its ministers to "prepare themselves to counsel, advise and support any members of their church whose Christian convictions demand that they may not participate in military service of any form."

Co-op Oil Company Opens Third Well

The Cooperative Oil Producing Association brought its third well into production near Laton, Kansas, in late October. A fourth well is being drilled. The cooperative also owns a refinery at Philippsburg.

Religious Theme Launches Education Week

The first day of the 20th annual observance of American Education Week was devoted to the theme "Enriching Spiritual Life," it was announced in Washington by the National Education Association, sponsors of the week. The Council of Church Boards of Education and the International Council of Religious Education cooperated with the N.E.A. in the Sunday observance.

Buffalo Pupils Get Weekday Religious Schools

Excusing pupils for religious instruction in churches of their choice was held to be practical by the New York state education department in an opinion submitted to the board of education of Buffalo, N. Y. The decision will enable the local board to continue its plan of excusing children whose parents make a written request for this service.

Religion Studied by Interfaith Group

An interfaith program of religious education, featuring a series of weekly convocations on church rituals, is being conducted at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, at Greensboro. Protestants, Jews and Catholics gather each Tuesday for special programs. Open forum discussions of creeds and beliefs are conducted each Thursday night, with authorities on the various faiths present to answer questions. The educational program is sponsored by the Interfaith Council at the college.

Questionnaire Prepared For Draft Objectors

A four-page questionnaire, to be filled in by prospective draftees who are conscientious objectors to war, has been prepared by conscription authorities in Washington.

It can be obtained from local draft boards. It is to be filled out along with the regular questionnaire. According to Walter W. Van Kirk, secretary of the Federal Council, who recently interviewed draft authorities in Washington, the federal government is disposed to cooperate with church groups which are concerned that c.o.'s be given justice and treated with respect.

Oct. 9 Issue Exhausted; Can You Help?

Office copies of The Christian Century for Oct. 9 are exhausted. Readers possessing copies which they do not intend to keep will confer a great favor if they will mail them to our office at 440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago. Thank you in advance!

Methodists to Launch National Weekly on New Year's Day

The new national Methodist weekly, the *Christian Advocate*, will be launched in Chicago on Jan. 1, 1941, according to a decision made at a recent meeting of the Board of Publications in Cincinnati. The paper, to be edited by Roy L. Smith, will replace the regional weeklies of the denomination.

Methodists Vote Minimum Salary Plan

The Virginia Methodist conference, in annual session in Roanoke, established a minimum salary for ministers, effective next year. Single men are to be paid not less than $1,000 and married men not less than $1,400 and house.

Presbyterians Name 118 Chaplains

The General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. closed a two-day session in Louisville recently with the completion of plans for selecting 118 chaplains to represent this denomination at military posts.

Findlay Heads Drury College

James Franklin Findlay will be installed as head of Drury College, Springfield, Mo., on Nov. 29.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

The Ape (Mono.) Boris Karloff	*Melodrama.* Doctor perfects serum for paralysis; needing more for patient, he poses as fugitive ape, kills neighbors to secure spinal fluid.	Effort to tone down horror in this type of film results in confusion in ethics. Said the high school girl behind us: "I know he's a murderer, and still I can't help liking him." *Inexcusable.*
Give Us Wings (Univ.) The "Dead End Kids," Wallace Ford, Victor Jory	*Melodrama.* Inexperienced boys hire out to "crop-dusting" firm which exploits them as pilots; risk lives; prove they can take it.	Exposé of methods taken to protect such firms' investment offered possibilities for worthwhile film. But they are not realized: the story limps; the constant horseplay palls. *The idea loses itself.*
Haunted Honeymoon (MGM) C. Cummings, R. Montgomery	*Mystery.* Detective and bride find murder waiting to be solved when they arrive at old Devon estate for honeymoon.	Made in England, film presents several "different" characterizations. Solution reminiscent of Sherlock Holmes. No element of horror. *Good of kind.* M, Y
Leather Pushers (Univ.) Astrid Allwyn, Richard Arlen, Andy Devine	*Comedy.* To build a camp for broken-down prize-fighters, girl reporter enlists help of fighter exploited by gang.	A silly, contrived story, with areas of brutal wrestling and boxing bouts. *Automatic, dull, no excuse for being.*
The Mark of Zorro (Fox) Linda Darnell, Tyrone Power, B. Rathbone	*Adventure.* The famous tale of the young blade who, finding justice oppressed on his return to early-California home from Spain, disguises self as daring outlaw to oust grafting officials.	The exploits of "Zorro" are as unbelievable as ever, but, done with the dash and vigor of the original Fairbanks film of 1920, they fit successfully into a schoolboy idea of what valorous adventure should be. *Excellent of its kind.* M, Y
So You Won't Talk (Col.) Joe E. Brown	*Farce.* Timid book critic impersonates gangster for whom he is double and captures him.	Better than average Brown comedy. Mistaken identity motif leads to laughable complications. *Frequently funny, unless you're above this species.* M, Y
Too Many Girls (RKO) Desi Arnez, Lucille Ball, Eddie Bracken, R. Carlson	*Musical comedy,* based on Rodgers-and-Hart stage hit. Football, music and romance at dear old Pottawatomie.	More witty and deftly satirical than usual Hollywood collegiate frolic—to some degree a burlesque on the typical college film. Retains some of play's risqué lines. Lively tunes and dance routines. *Diverting.* M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: The Adventures of Chico, The Biscuit Eater, The Great Dictator, The Howards of Virginia, Knute Rockne—All American, Young People, Young Tom Edison, Spring Parade.

For Mature Audience: All This and Heaven Too, Brigham Young—Frontiersman, Christmas in July, Dr. Kildare Goes Home, Edison the Man, The Fight for Life, The Great McGinty, The Mortal Storm, Pride and Prejudice, Our Town, The Sea Hawk, Three Faces West.

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